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THE CHIMARIKO INDIANS AND
LANGUAGE

BY
ROLAND B. DIXON

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PART I. CULTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

The investigation in the course of which the material was secured upon which the following account of the culture and language of the Chimariko Indians of California is based, was conducted during July and August, 1906, on behalf of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, and, in common with the other researches of the Department, was made possible by the support of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst. At the present time there appear to be only two living full-blood Chimariko. One of these, Doctor Tom, a half-crazy old man, proved worthless for purposes of investigation, and the bulk of the information secured was obtained from Mrs. Dyer, a failing old woman of about eighty years of age, living on lower New River. Some supplementary details were gathered from "Friday," a well-known character near the Hupa reservation, half Hupa and half Wintun by birth, but having had close affiliations with the Chimariko many years ago.

The little group of Indians to whom the name Chimariko has been given occupied a small area situated in the western portion of Trinity County, in northern California. The language spoken by the group has always been believed to differ radically from all others known, so that, unless certain resemblances discussed in the linguistic portion of this paper are accepted as establishing an affinity with the Shastan family, the Chimariko by themselves constitute an independent linguistic stock. In the small size of the area occupied, the Chimariko fall into the same class with several other stocks in California, such as the Yana and the extinct Esselen.

TERRITORY AND HISTORY.

As far as can be ascertained at present, the Chimariko seem to have regarded as their territory a narrow strip of country extending along Trinity River from the mouth of the South Fork

up as far as Taylor's Flat at French Creek. This upper limit is well corroborated by repeated statements of the Wintun, who controlled all the upper Trinity, reaching as far downstream as Cox's or Big Bar, some five or six miles above French Creek. In addition to this strip of territory along the main Trinity, there is some evidence to the effect that the Chimariko also extended up the South Fork to a point about fifteen miles above Hyampom, and also up Hay Fork as far as the mouth of Corral Creek. These statements in regard to this extension up the South Fork are rather confusing and somewhat contradictory, but appear to be confirmed by the testimony of the Wintun in Hay Fork Valley. In view, however, of positive statements secured by Dr. P. E. Goddard from the Athabascan tribes on the upper South Fork, to the effect that they occupied the South Fork as far as its mouth, the extension up this stream of the Chimariko may be considered doubtful.

Whether or not the so-called Chimalakwe of New River formed a portion of the Chimariko, or were identical with them, is a matter which must apparently remain unsettled. Powers declares¹ that the Chimalakwe occupied New River, and that they were in process of conquest and absorption by the Hupa at the time of the first appearance of the whites. The upper portion of New River, about New River City and perhaps below, was occupied according to Shasta accounts by a small branch of the Shastan family, speaking a distinct dialect.² Satisfactory statements in regard to the occupants of lower New River cannot now be secured. The survivors of the Chimariko most emphatically deny that they ever permanently occupied any part of New River, stating that they merely visited and ascended it a short distance, and only for the purpose of hunting. The people living on New River are declared to have been very few, and to have spoken a Hupa dialect. It is unquestionable that the name Chimalakwe, given to the New River tribe by Powers, is derived from the same stem *tcimal*, *tcimar*³ as Chimariko. Inasmuch as

¹ Powers, S., *Tribes of California*, Washington, 1877. Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, p. 92.

² Dixon, R. B., *The Shasta-Achomawi: A New Linguistic Stock, with Four New Dialects*. *American Anthropologist*, n. s., VII., pp. 241-315.

³ Tc = English ch, c = sh. See the discussion of phonetics in the linguistic part.

these New River people are entirely extinct, and the Chimariko virtually so, it seems doubtful if the question of their relationship can now be definitely settled.

According to the information procured, the Chimariko had only a few small villages within the small area they occupied; that at Burnt Ranch, Tsuda'mdadji, being the largest. Other villages of which names and locations were secured were at Cedar Flat, Há'dinakteohâda; Hawkin's Bar, Hamai'dadji; Taylor's Flat, Teiteā'nma; Big Bar, Citimaadjè; and one known as Mamsū'idji on the Trinity River just above the mouth of the South Fork. In addition to these the following names of places on New River were obtained, but were said to have been mere temporary hunting camps: Itexapo'sta, Dyer's; Paktō'nadji, Patterson's; and Mai'djasore, Thomas'.

The earliest contact of the Chimariko with the whites probably took place in the second or third decade of the nineteenth century, when the first trappers of the fur companies made their appearance in this region. This first contact was, however, of small moment compared with the sudden irruption into the region of the gold-seekers who, in the early fifties, overran the whole middle and upper Trinity River. From this time on for fifteen years or more, the placers of the section were largely worked, and the inevitable conflicts between the miners and the Indians occurred. In the sixties the feeling was particularly bitter, and the unequal contest resulted in the practical annihilation of the Chimariko. A few remnants fled, taking refuge either with the Hupa, or on the upper Salmon River, or in Scott Valley with tribes belonging to the Shastan stock. From here, after an exile of many years, the survivors, then numbering only some half-dozen, straggled back to their old homes; and of this handful all are now gone except one old man and woman, besides whom there are two or three mixed bloods who have little or no knowledge of the earlier culture of the stock.

What may have been the population of the area before the coming of the whites it is impossible to say. In all probability it could not have numbered more than some hundreds.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

The dress of the Chimariko seems to have been to some extent a compromise between that of the Wintun and the Hupa. Men apparently wore no breech-clout, merely wrapping a deer-skin about the waist, and adding to this in winter a deer-skin mantle. Moccasins were worn only in the winter months. Women wore a buckskin fringe or apron in front, reaching from the waist to the knee, and about ten inches in width. A second apron or half-skirt was also worn behind, similar in general to those worn by the Hupa, but plain and unfringed. A basket cap was worn on the head. In winter time men wore snow-shoes, which were made by bending a hazel stick in a circle or hoop, and tying to this two cross-sticks at right angles to each other. The foot was securely tied on by a buckskin lashing.

Bodily decoration and ornament were more restricted than among the Hupa. Dentalia and abalone were used to some extent, as was also a variety of small cylindrical beads, said to have been made of bone. All of these were, however, sparingly employed. Dentalia, if large, were sometimes wrapped spirally with narrow strips of snake-skin, and were measured by the string, the unit of length being from the thumb to the tip of the shoulder.

The ears were generally pierced, but not the nose, and tattooing was less elaborate than among the Trinity Wintun. These latter tattooed the whole cheek up to the temples, and also the chin, whereas the Chimariko, like the Hupa, confined themselves to a few lines on the chin only. The tattooing was restricted to the women alone, and was effected by the same method as among the Shasta, namely by fine, parallel cuts rather than by puncture. The process was begun early in life, and the lines broadened by additions from time to time, until in some cases the chin became an almost solid area of blue. Certain women were particularly skillful in the work, and were much in demand.

The food supply of the Chimariko was formerly abundant. The Trinity River supplied them with ample quantities of salmon, which were split and dried in the usual manner, and preserved either in this or in powdered form. Eels were another important source of food. Deer, elk, and bear constituted the

larger part of the game supply, in addition to which mountain-lion and several other animals supplied an occasional meal. Yellow-jacket larvae were considered delicacies, but grasshoppers and worms, relished by the Sacramento Valley tribes, were not eaten.

As among most California Indians, vegetable products, and particularly acorns, formed a large element in the food supply. The acorns were prepared and eaten in the same manner as among the Hupa and Maidu.⁴ Grass-seeds of various kinds, pine-nuts, berries, and roots of several varieties were gathered in large quantities, and eaten either fresh or dried.

In cooking, deer-meat was either roasted or boiled, whereas for bear-meat only the latter method was practiced.

None of the old type of houses built by the Chimariko now survive. As described they were roughly similar to those of the Hupa, but ruder. The structure was made of fir-bark slabs, and in shape was round or oval. The usual diameter of the house was from ten to fourteen feet, and the interior was as a rule excavated to a depth of about one foot. The ridge-pole was supported by two posts, and the simple gable roof, in general like that of the Hupa, was not provided with any earth covering. The low side-walls were formed of vertical slabs of bark. At one end of the house was the door, small, but not rounded, and closed by a movable piece of bark. At the end opposite the door was a small draught-hole, through which game was always hauled in. Along the sides of the house were the sleeping places, consisting of beds of grass, leaves, and pine-needles, covered with skins.

In addition to this dwelling house, *awa'*, the Chimariko had a sweat-house, *ma'tta*. This was circular, excavated to a depth of two or three feet, and had the fireplace somewhat back of the center. The roof was of brush and earth, without any smoke-hole. Houses of this type would accommodate eight or ten men, and in these houses were held the so-called sweat-dances. This type of house seems on the whole to be rather more like the earth lodges of the Sacramento Valley than the *taikyuw* of the Hupa. It is stated that there were no menstrual lodges of any sort.

⁴ Goddard, P. E., *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., I, pp. 21-29; Dixon, R. B., *The Northern Maidu*, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, pp. 184-187.

The furnishings of the houses were simple. Baskets exclusively were used for storage and cooking, and the soap-stone troughs and vessels of the Hupa appear to have been lacking. For stirring acorn-mush a simple paddle was in use. Information as to spoons was contradictory, one informant declaring that carved spoons like those of the Hupa⁵ were employed, the other that this was not the case. The cylindrical wooden trunks of the Hupa were not known.

Knives and arrowpoints were as a rule made of obsidian, obtained either from the Wintun or the Redwood Creek Indians. Both informants declared that no axes or adzes were made, and that trees, if cut, were laboriously hacked with small knives.

The bow was of yew as a rule, flat, sinew-backed, and resembling the usual type of bow in Northwestern California.⁶ Arrows were generally made of syringa, and were carried in a quiver of raccoon, wild-cat or fawn skin. In shooting the bow was held horizontally. For armor, the Chimariko used an elk-hide robe coming down to the knees, the heavy skin of the neck standing up in front of the face. Slat or stick armor is said not to have been used.

Canoes were not made by the Chimariko, and rivers and streams were crossed by swimming, or on rude rafts, built of logs.

Pipes were made, according to one account, similar to those of the Hupa, with neatly formed stone bowls.⁷ Other accounts, however, state that the pipe was much cruder, and made like that of the Wintun, without stone and with a large bowl.

For musical instruments the Chimariko made chief use of the flute. This had four holes, and was used chiefly in courting. Rattles are declared to have been only sparingly used.

Fish-spears were, like the arrows, made of syringa, and had bone points. Nets, apparently identical with those of the Hupa, were largely used in catching salmon. Basketry, of which no specimens now survive, was considerably developed. The baskets were exclusively of the twined variety, and in pattern were declared to have been similar to those of the northern Wintun.⁸

⁵ Goddard, op. cit., pl. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 17.

⁸ See Kroeber, A. L., *Basket Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn., II, pl. 21 and passim. Dixon, R. B., *Basketry Designs of the Indians of Northern California*, Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, pp. 17-19, pl. XXIII, XXIV.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The information secured in regard to the social organization of the Chimariko is unfortunately rather scanty. In common with most California tribes, there was no trace, apparently, of any clan organization, and the only social units were the various village communities. Each such village group had its chief or head-man, whose position was usually hereditary in the male line. If the natural successor was, however, thought unfit, some one else was elected. The chief led his people in time of war, and seems to have exercised considerable control over the members of the village group.

Any type of social stratification into classes, seen in a rudimentary form among the Hupa, and increasingly northwards into Oregon and Washington, appears here to be lacking; and slavery, which was a regular institution among the Hupa, was not known.

The whole area occupied by the Chimariko was a common hunting ground, and fishing places in the river are also said to have been public property, without any evidence of private control as among the Shasta and other neighboring peoples.

The Chimariko were, in general, monogamic. Wives were usually bought from parents, although sometimes a girl would be sent by her parents, as a wife, to a man who was famed as a good hunter and a reliable man. If the girl disliked him, she would bite his hands, and scratch him, until he sent her back to her home. The levirate was a common custom, and if a man's wife died soon after her marriage her family were bound to give him her sister, or some near relative, as a second wife. For this substitute wife, no additional payment was required.

Puberty ceremonies for women were as a whole simple. The girl had to remain secluded in the house for a period of about a month. Much of this time she was obliged to lie down, and be covered up with skins. She was subject to many food restrictions, and ate sparingly, always alone, at dawn and sunset. Throughout the period of her seclusion she was obliged to use a scratching-stick. At times, she was supposed to dance, usually outside the house. In these dances her hair, cut in a bang on

the forehead, was made with pitch into a series of tassels or tassel-like ringlets, and these were long enough to fall down over her eyes. When the period of seclusion was over, there was generally a feast given by her parents, and another dance, and then the whole was regarded as completed. The ceremony was apparently not repeated at any of the subsequent menstrual periods.

At childbirth a woman was subject to food restrictions, and had to remain in seclusion for two or three weeks.

But little information was obtained in regard to funeral customs. Cremation was declared never to have been practiced, the body always having been buried. The ceremony if possible took place on the day of the death, and a considerable quantity of property, both personal and gifts from relatives, was placed with the body in the grave. Widows cut their hair short, and "cried" for a month, but did not put pitch on their faces and heads. The house of the deceased was sometimes, but not always, destroyed. The persons who dug the grave were considered unclean, and had to undergo a five days' fast, and then bathe before they might again take up their regular life.

The chief gambling game of the Chimariko was the widespread "grass-game" of Central California.⁹ It was played here by two players on a side, each player having a single, unmarked bone or stick about two inches long. One side guesses while the other "rolls," shuffling the bones from hand to hand, wrapping them in small bunches of grass, and then presenting their hands, containing these bunches of grass, to the other side that they may guess the relative position of the two bones. Each side is said to have started with ten counters, and one side or the other must win all twenty to come out victor. Details in regard to methods of counting could not be secured.

The cup and ball game, played with salmon vertebrae, was in use; also cats-cradle; and a game in which objects were thrown at a pin or a post, as in quoits.

⁹ Dixon, R. B., *The Northern Maidu*, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, pp. 209-216.

RELIGION.

The religious ceremonials of the Chimariko appear to have been more like those of the Shasta than of any other of their neighbors, in that they had no other dances except those of the shaman.

There were, it seems, both men and women shamans, and they might or might not inherit their position. The sign that a person was destined to become a shaman was a series of dreams. These were, in the case of a man, often the result of solitary visits to remote mountain lakes, in which the person would bathe at dusk. In these dreams, instructions were given the neophyte by various supernatural beings, and these directions must be followed exactly. Later a full-fledged shaman came and put a "pain" into the mouth of the new member. This ceremony was accompanied by dances, held out of doors, the neophyte wearing a buckskin skirt painted red in stripes, and holding a bunch of yellow feathers in the hand. Details of this dance could not be obtained. In doctoring, the shaman was usually seated, and after singing for some time, sucked out the pain, which was generally a small, spindle-shaped object from one to two inches in length. The pain once extracted, melted away and disappeared in the shaman's hand.

Apart from the dance held by the shaman neophyte, and that already alluded to in speaking of the girls' puberty ceremony, the Chimariko seem to have had nothing except the so-called sweat-dance. This was a very simple affair, participated in by men alone, dancing without clothing and indoors. One member sang, and beat time on the ground with a stick. So far as could be learned, all the typical dances of the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok were wanting, and the Chimariko did not even attend them when held by the Hupa, as did the Shasta with the Karok.

In the summer time occasionally people would hold the "round-dance" merely for pleasure. This consisted simply in a number of people dancing around in a circle, without ornaments or paraphernalia of any sort, and was repeated as often as desired. It seems to have had little or no religious or ceremonial importance.

Of the mythology of the Chimariko, only one or two fragments could be obtained. Concerning the creation, it is said that the dog was the most powerful being. He knew everything beforehand, and told the coyote that a great wind was coming, which would blow all people away. He counselled the coyote to hold tightly to a tree, but when the wind came, the coyote whirled round and round, twisted the tree off, and blew away. Later the coyote returned, and the dog sang songs over him, and made him strong. The dog next prophesies a flood, and to escape it the two build a house of stone with an underground chamber. The flood comes, and all other people are destroyed, except the frog, mink, and otter, and one man. The flood subsides, finally, and the man finds a small fragment of bone in the canoe in which the frog has taken refuge. This piece of bone he preserves in a basket, and it later comes to life as a girl child. The man marries the child, and from this pair all Chimariko are descended. There is possibly an element of missionary teaching in this tale, but it constitutes all that could be learned in regard to ideas of the origin of things.

The second fragment secured deals with a man who had two wives. Unsuccessful in hunting, he cuts off one leg and brings this back as game for the household. Next day he brings back his entrails and finally his other leg. The wives suspect what he has done and refuse to eat the meat, finally leaving him secretly while he sleeps, and running away.

There is finally a brief statement in regard to the securing of fire. The coyote suggests that all animals unite in an attempt to steal fire from the person who owns it. Several try to reach the place where it is kept, but give out before arriving. Finally Coyote himself tries, and succeeds in reaching the house, to find all away but the children. He outwits them, seizes the brand, and runs away. He is pursued by the father when he returns, and is almost caught, but throws the brand away, setting the whole country on fire, and thus escapes. In the fire the fox is burned red.

These tales do not show any close resemblance to any recorded from the Hupa or Wiyot, as representatives of the Northwestern Californian culture. As little relation appears to

the tales known from the Wintun. With the tales from the Shasta there appears to be slightly greater similarity, although here the agreement is not at all striking. At best, however, these fragments do not offer very satisfactory material to judge from, and the most that can be said is that what association there is, appears more clearly with the Shasta than with any other of the stocks in the vicinity.

CONCLUSIONS.

From the foregoing account of the Chimariko, meagre though it is, we may draw certain conclusions in regard to their general culture, and their relation to the surrounding cultures.

Living in close proximity to the Hupa, they nevertheless do not seem to have assimilated themselves at all closely to the Northwest Californian culture, of which the Hupa are representative. They feared the Hupa, and fought against them, allying themselves rather in sympathy and to some extent in culture, with the Northern Wintun and the Shasta. Like the latter they lacked most of the distinctive features of both the Central and Northwestern Californian cultures, and seem to have occupied a kind of intermediate position between the two. In their material culture they were colorless, and this lack of any strongly marked characteristics is also apparent in their social organization and religious beliefs.

Any attempt to discuss the past history or determine the movements of the Chimariko must be almost wholly speculative. On the one hand we may regard them as the remnant of a once much larger stock, subjected to pressure and attack on several sides, and so reduced to the small compass and unimportance which were theirs when discovered; on the other, we might perhaps assume from their cultural colorlessness and lack of close agreement with either the Northwestern or Central Californian cultures, that they are more closely affiliated with the Shastan stock, which appears to have been pushing in a south-southwesterly direction. With them also, as already stated, such resemblances as may be noted in the myths are most apparent. The two outlying dialectic groups of this stock, the Konomihu and the New River, apparently occupy advance positions beyond

the natural physiographic boundaries of the main area of the stock. Moreover, the language of the Chimariko shows in general greater similarities both formal and lexical, to the Shasta than to either the Hupa or the Wintun. These similarities, which are discussed in the linguistic portion of the paper, in fact are so numerous as to make it seem most likely that the two languages are genetically related. Further, it was among the Shasta, chiefly, that the remnants of the Chimariko took refuge when they fled from the Trinity River in the sixties. The paucity of material secured in regard to the Chimariko culture of course adds to the difficulty, and as usual in California, we get no aid here from any tradition of migration or earlier habitat. All things considered, the second of the above two suggestions appears the more reasonable, and we may conclude that, so far as the evidence goes, the Chimariko are to be regarded as related culturally most closely to the Shastan stock, and in origin probably forming part of it. Their historical affiliations therefore run northward and northeastward towards the interior of southwestern Oregon.

PART II. LANGUAGE.

INTRODUCTION.

The material upon which the following sketch of the Chimariko language is based, was collected in the summer of 1906 on the New River, and at Willow Creek or China Flat, in Trinity County, California. The bulk of the material was obtained from Mrs. Dyer, probably the last full-blood Chimariko survivor, and from Friday, a man who, although not of Chimariko descent, yet spoke the language fluently, and had lived much of his life with the people. Owing to Mrs. Dyer's age and lack of teeth, she was not a very good informant, and some of the phonetic uncertainty is probably due to this fact. Previous to the writer's visit in 1906, short vocabularies and some grammatical material had been collected by Dr. P. E. Goddard and Dr. A. L. Kroeber, in part from the same informants. This material has been placed at the author's disposal. The only other available source of information on the language is Powers' vocabularies in his *Tribes of California*, and these have been used in connection with the more recent collection.

It is to be regretted that a larger mass of texts, and of a more satisfactory character, could not have been secured, as these are so necessary for a clear understanding of the language, and to check information obtained in other ways. It is felt, however, that the material here presented affords a reasonably complete sketch of the main features of Chimariko, although certain details still remain obscure.

PHONETICS.

The vowel sounds occurring in Chimariko are i, e, a, o, u. As a rule the vowels are not short enough to be obscure, the only exception being in the case of e, written *ɛ* when obscure. Doubling of vowels or their extreme length, particularly in the case of a and o, is not uncommon, and the language is apparently

fond of combinations of two vowel sounds, separated by ', a faint glottal catch. The sound of ö, although occurring, is not common. There is some doubt as to whether long open è should not be written ä. A broad a or open o sound resembling English aw has been represented by â. Of all the vowel sounds, a is by far the most frequent. Nasalized vowels do not occur, and the infrequency of ä, ö, and ü, so common in the adjacent languages, as for instance the Shasta, is noticeable. The vowels may be represented as follows:

ī	i		
ē	e	è	E
ā	a	â	
ō	o	ö	
ū	u		

In the consonants, the sonant group is somewhat more developed than the surd. A true b seems to be lacking, although an intermediate sound, between surd and sonant, occasionally occurs. Of the two sonants g and d, neither is common initially, the latter perhaps never so occurring, and generally being found in combination with n as nd. The velar surd stop q is of moderately frequent occurrence, but its corresponding sonant is absent. Nasals are represented only by n and m, ñ(ng) being absent. The surd l sounds common in the languages adjacent, are absent, although ordinary l is common. There are apparently two r sounds. Besides the ordinary, rather strongly trilled r, there is a velar or uvular r, almost equivalent to spirant guttural x. T followed by r seems to be a sound similar to te, as one was often written for the other. A single instance of the use of an interdental, θ, has been noted. The consonants in Chimariko may be shown as follows:

q			x	
k	g	k ¹⁰		
t	d		s, c (= sh) θ ¹⁰	n
p	b			m
ts, te	dj			
		l, r, r		
		y; w; h, ';		

¹⁰ It is not certain whether θ represents a stop or a spirant. Several California languages possess a t whose interdental quality causes it to resemble English th. The character ', whether following k or another sound, indicates aspiration.

INITIAL SOUNDS.

Although all the simple vowels occur initially, e and especially o are rare, a being by far the most common. The tendency for words to begin with vowels is only moderately strong, perhaps one-fourth falling into this class. Of the semi-vowels, y is initial but rarely. Of the consonants, g, d, b, and r do not occur initially, and l and n are rare. The most frequent initial consonants are h, k, q, t, x, p, s or c, m, t. Syllables begin most usually with a consonant or double consonant.

TERMINAL SOUNDS.

All vowels except o have been found to occur finally, u and e however being rare, and a by far the most common. Vowels are terminal sounds in perhaps three-fourths of the words noted. Of consonants, the only ones which rarely appear finally are b, q, x and h. The most common are n, r, l, and t. Syllables very frequently end in a consonant, and the typical monosyllabic stem is formed of either consonant-vowel, or consonant-vowel-consonant.

DIALECTICAL DIFFERENCES.

In one point the material secured from the informant Friday differs rather regularly from that obtained from Mrs. Dyer. Very generally l was used by the former, where r was heard from the latter. There was also a less frequent substitution of s for c. The fact that Mrs. Dyer had but very few teeth may in part account for these differences, but in not a few cases the same person would speak the word sometimes with r and sometimes with l, or the sound would be very doubtful, as between the two.¹¹ The difficulty was most noticeable where the sound was terminal. It is possible that there may have been a real dialectic difference, but the opportunity of determining this point with any certainty was lacking, owing to the fact that Mrs. Dyer represents one of the two last surviving members of the stock, and Friday is not a native Chimariko.

¹¹ This was also the experience of Dr. A. L. Kroeber, who at times found difficulty in distinguishing d from l and r, though he states that Friday frequently spoke l where Doctor Tom, another informant, used r.

COMBINATIONS OF SOUNDS.

Combinations of vowels are frequent, and several diphthongs are in use, as ai, ei, oi, öi, au and eu. Consonant combinations occasionally occur at the beginning, and less frequently at the end of words, the initial combinations noted being tq, tx, trx, px, sr. Combinations of two consonants within words are very common. In such combinations there is wide latitude as a whole, although the following restrictions may be noted. Both q and x are unknown as initial members of combinations. Of the sonants b, d, and g, the first is never, and the others very rarely first members, and the labials are also, as a rule, unusual in this position. Combinations of three consonants are not wanting, the following having been observed: ntx, ndr, mtx, mpx, trq. Combinations of consonants at the beginning of syllables occur quite frequently, tr, tx, tex, kl, km, and px being the most common.

INFLUENCE OF SOUNDS ON ONE ANOTHER.

Chimariko is in accord with many of the languages of Northern Central California, in that there is little apparent modification of sounds through juxtaposition. There is a slight tendency for the connecting vowel between the pronominal prefix and the instrumental prefix, or the pronominal prefix and the verbal stem, to show some relationship to the vowel of the stem. This is, however, noticeable only in the case of o and u and perhaps a stems. In these cases, the connecting vowel is either the same as that of the stem, or near it in the regular vowel series. Such instances are retroactive. In other cases, the influence is proactive, the vowel of the negative prefix being assimilated to the vowel of the pronominal prefix, where this changes in the first person plural, as *teaxawini*, I am old, *teoxowini*, we are old. So far as consonants are concerned, euphonic and other changes in sound are not of very common occurrence. The following are the more important of those noted. K is sometimes softened to x, *owakni* becoming *owaxni*, and is generally elided before x, as in *yeta(k)xani*, I shall sing. One instance occurs where x is replaced by w: *ixusni*, I blow, *qowusni*, ye blow. For euphony, m is sometimes inserted after a before d, x, or g. In some cases,

g changes to x after tc. There are a number of instances where one stem-consonant may be replaced by another without apparent change of meaning, as: mum, muk; sum, sux; sim, six; am, ak; teut, teuk; pen, hen; pat, hat. In these cases t and m are replaced by k or x, and p by h. Contraction occurs not uncommonly, as in yaateiman for yayateiman; nateidut for noateidut; -wax, -wak, -wok, -wauk for -watok.

SUMMARY.

In general Chimariko may be said to be simple and regular in its phonetics. It is not so smooth and soft as are Maidu, Wintun, and Yana and some other languages of the Central Californian area, but is considerably more so than the Shastan languages, and those of Northwestern California. The relative absence of sonants and spirants, and of velars and laterals, is characteristic. The considerable frequency of consonant combinations renders the language less transparent in structure than the Maidu or Wintun, but the slight degree of phonetic modification saves it from any considerable obscurity.

REDUPLICATION.

As compared with some of the adjacent languages, Chimariko makes comparatively little use of reduplication. Employed little if at all as a grammatical form, it occurs only sparingly in the names of a few birds, animals, and plants. In the case of the bird names, most, if not all, show clearly onomatopoeia. Color adjectives, it is interesting to note, do not appear to be reduplicated. The following cases of reduplication have been noted:

a'a, deer	himimiteei, grouse
pipilla, chipmunk	lâlo, goose
tsokokotei, bluejay	teèiteèi, buzzard
xaxateèi, duck	tsadadak, kingfisher
yekeyek, hawk.	hutatat, crane
masomas, red-salmon	

COMPOSITION.

Investigation of the processes of composition and derivation for purely etymological purposes, does not reveal a very extensive use. The following cases illustrate the principle examples noted:

āqa, water

āqa-qot, āqa-kat, river ("at the water"?)

āqa-rēda, āqa-teeta, ocean (probably "water-large")

āqa-xatsa, spring, "water-cold"

apu-n-aqa, "fire-water," whiskey

teitei-āqa-i, "manzanita-water," cider

āqa-mateitsxol, water-fall, "water-dust"

asi-n-alla, sun, day-sun

himi-n-alla, moon, night-sun

hī-pxa, intestine

hī-pxa-dji, skin, bark

ama, earth, place, country

ama-yāqa, sand

ama-idatei-ku, nowhere

ami-texamut, earthquake

wec, antler

wec-naqalne, spoon

tīra, di'la, bird

tīra-cela, teila-teele, blackbird

-sot, eye

-so-xa, tears (eye-water?)

-sot-nimi, eyebrow

-su-nsa, eyelash

xuli, bad

xuli-teni, left hand

hō-akta-xoli-k, lame

hisi-kni, good

hisi-deni, right hand

-kos-, to blow

i-kos-eta, wind

apu, fire

apu-n-aqa, fire-water

apu'-natxui, fire-drill base

apo-teitpid-aktea, smoke-hole

teim-ar, person, Indian

teim-tukta, white man

acot-n-o-umul, "winter-salmon," steelhead

umul-itcawa, "salmon-large," sturgeon

pa, to smoke

onī-pa, pipe

atexu, net
atexu-nde, rope

a 'a, deer
a 'ëno, aanok, elk

am, ama, eat
ame-mtu, hungry

hime, himi, night
hime-tasur, hime-tacus, morning
himi-n-alla, moon
hime-da, to-morrow
himok, evening
himok-ni, night
himoq-anan, noon
himi-santo, "devil"

itri-, to grow
itri, man
itri-lla, boy
itri-neülla, old man
itei-la-i, my father
itra-xaid-eu, chief
itri-dusku, old maid

Other instances appear in the Chimariko-English vocabulary, in which derivatives are grouped under stems. Compare there, for instance, teemu, sky, tea, hand, txa, leg.

In several of the above instances, an -n- appears between two nouns that are joined in composition: apu-n-aqa, asi-n-alla, himi-n-alla, acot-n-o-umul.

Some verb stems are identical with body-part terms that execute the action of the verb.

cam, sem, ear, or to hear
tu, wing, feather, or to fly
pen, tongue, or to lick

Derivation is by suffixes, of which the most important are:

-alla, -ülla, -olla, diminutive, especially on names of animals:

xar-ülla, xal-ala, baby
teiteam-ülla, apxante-olla, fox
hēmox-ola, jack-rabbit
ipūit-ella, bluebird
itr-illa, boy
itrinc-ülla, old man
cunh-ülla, old woman

punts-ŭlla, girl
 ôël-ulla, bachelor
 o-ëlla-i, my son
 mas-olla-i, my daughter
 ite-illa-i, my father
 mag-olla-i, my uncle
 teisum-ulla, orphan
 pāsindjax-ola, water-ousel
 pip-illa, wis-illa, chipmunk, beaver(?)
 poq-ella, cooking basket (pok, to wash)
 cite-ella, site-ela, dog (cite-iwī, wolf)
 cid-ulla, a spring
 tumtit-ella, swallow
 aw-illa, who(?)
 maidjahute-ulla, Yocumville

-na, tree, wood, stick, bush, plant:

apū'-Ena, fire-drill, lit. fire-wood
 axac-na, puktcā-Ena, chaparral
 êtxol-na, madrone
 haqēw-ina, sugar-pine (haqēu, the cone)
 hau-na, tinder
 hawu'-una, grass
 hepūitci'-ina, live oak
 kīpi'-ina, fir
 mūne'-Ena, black oak (muni, the acorn)
 mutuma-na, redwood (mutuma, canoe)
 qapu-na, deer brush
 ipxadji'-ina, trūpxadji'-ina, maple
 paktō'-Ena, alder
 tēutēu-na, fern
 tseli-na, gooseberry bush
 teimia-na, serviceberry bush
 teitca-na, manzanita
 tsuna-na, digging stick
 xaxcc-na, poison oak
 yaqā-na, white oak
 yutxū-ina, tan-bark oak

-eu, forms nouns from verbal stems:

aqed-eu, wild oats
 ahat-eu, dentalium
 axād-eu cat's cradle
 hā'-eu, mortar basket
 haq-eu, sugar-pine cone
 hām-eu, food (am, ama, eat)
 habukēd-ēu, slave
 hekot-ēu, tattoo
 hiēkteand-eu, woman's skirt
 hitecumūdad-ehu, cup and ball game
 ho'-eu, board

hohankut-eu, fish spear
 hâp-êu, acorn soup
 hâsunwed-eu, spear
 isekdâd-iu, tongs
 itraxaid-eu, chief
 petson-eu, grass-seed
 trēmamute-eu, thunder
 teen-eu, acorn-bread
 trun-eu, belly
 xâpun-eu, bow

-ktea, -uktea, -gutca, instrument or object for. As all the forms obtained begin with a vowel or h, it seems that they contain the pronominal prefix of the third person.

apo-teitpid-aktea, smoke-hole
 atcib-uksa, arrow-flaker
 haim-uksa, ham-ukteu, ax
 hamamê-gutca, fish-line, hook
 hâma'an-aksia, table (ama, eat)
 hateiinar-utsa, bed
 hax-aktea, deer trap
 hēmuim-ektsa, split stick rattle
 hēuma-kutca, grass game
 hiāsmāi-gutca, paddle
 himi-gutca, sling
 himinid-uktsa, red lizard
 hipun-aktea, button
 hisūsamd-aksia, window
 hiūxi-gutca, saw
 hiwoanad-atsa, chair
 hose-ktea, hâsus-akta, quiver
 hâtsi-ktea, fire-drill (hatsir, make fire)
 hâtsi-na-ktea, cedar (-na, wood)
 ixa-gutca, thief
 ixod-akta, clock
 opum-aktea, storage basket

-ar:

teim-ar, man
 punts-ar, woman
 at-ar, fish-spear (at, to hit)
 kos-ar, crane

Perhaps also:

tsat-ur, grasshopper (tsat, fishweir)
 akwec-ur, gray squirrel
 tsabok-or, mole
 pis-or, quail
 himetas-ur, morning

-xol, -xal, -xul:

mateits-xol, or matre-pa, dust
 aqa-mateits-xol, waterfall

pate-xal, cocoon rattle
 t'amite-xul, red ant
 pête-xol, hawk
 sap-xel, spoon
 êt-xol-na, madrone-tree

-teei, on names of animals, especially birds. The syllable preceding the suffix is usually reduplicated, and therefore probably often onomatopoeic:

himimi-teei, grouse
 xaxa-teei, duck
 teukuku-teēi, owl
 konana-teēi, woodpecker
 trēlek-teēi, humming-bird
 tsokoko-tei, blue-bird
 ẽxoi-teei, otter
 qêpxami-teēi, fisher
 qêrek-teei, humming-bird

-tada, suffix of tribal names:

maitrok-tada, Hyampom people
 qataidūwak-tada, Arcata Wiyot
 hâdinakteo-hâda, Cedar Flat, a place (hâtsinaktea, cedar)

-dji, *-dje*, local suffix:

âqi-tce, Salt Ranch (aqi, salt)
 tsūdamda-dji, Burnt Ranch
 paktōna-dji, Patterson's (paktō'ena, alder)
 maidjateū-dje, Cecilville (maitra, a flat or bench)
 hitūai-dje, Willow Creek
 and many others given in the list of place names in the vocabulary.

-ma, *-mu*, on place names:

teitean-ma, Taylor's Flat (teitca-na, manzanita)
 teintxap-mu, Big Flat (teinteei, sun-flower)
 tranqo-ma, Hyampom
 hisaē-mu, Weaverville

-matei, on names of seasons:

ahan-matei, summer
 kieu-matei, spring
 kieu-matei, spring (kisum, crane)
 qâ-suk-matei, when

-ekut, privative:

aquey-ekut, tail-less
 itra-ekut, handleless
 hu-po-ekun, footless
 puntsarie-ekut, wife-less, bachelor
 itri-d-usku, old maid

-gu, *-ku*, negative; perhaps also indefinite:

xanī-gu, by and by
 eurai-gu, some time ago (sul, long ago)
 pateeam-ku, something (patci, what)
 patci-gun, no
 amaidatei-ku, nowhere

-da, on terms of direction:

wise-da, down-stream
wai-da, up-stream, east
qadai-da, south
xunoi-da, north
teem-da, across stream
tranmi-da, down-stream

Possibly also:

hime-da, to-morrow

-'i, on terms of color and other adjectives, both syllables of the stem showing the same vowel:

teele-'i, black
mene-'i, white
wili-'i, red
sôte-'i, blue(?)
tono-'i, dull
mata-'i, clean
cupu-i, sharp

-in, -n, -ni, on adjectives, is evidently the verbal suffix indicating present or incompleted action:

atexum-ni, dry
elox-ni, hot
hadoha-n, straight
hēmudadja-n, bitter
hiqūi-ni, sweet
hisik-ni, good
hiteu-n, hiteū-Eni, long, high
hoqatā'-Eni, square
hukēna-n, deaf
huteolana-n, empty
huteula-n, low
quoyo-in, sour
kumite-in, all
lo'ore-n, soft
lūyu-in, smooth
nodaduh-ni, rough
pepe-'in, thick
p'qele-'in, crooked
tqe'er-'in, thin
teele-'in, dirty
teuxunm-in, deep
texale-n, light
xē'ire-n, xerē'-in, narrow, wide
xodala-n, poor
xuiteula-n, short

For grammatical purposes, affixation is chiefly used. The following list of affixes comprises those which have been determined with any certainty:

A. PREFIXES OR SUFFIXES.

Pronominal:

te, first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjectival stems. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs. Prefixed as possessive, with nouns where possession is inherent.

i, y, first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed as subject of transitive verbs. Suffixed as possessive with nouns where possession is accidental.

m, mi, second person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs. Prefixed as subject or object of transitive verbs, or as possessive with nouns where possession is inherent. Suffixed with nouns where possession is accidental.

n, second person singular. Imperative. Prefixed.

h, ' , third person singular and plural. Prefixed (as h) or suffixed (as ') as subject of intransitive verbs. Prefixed as possessive with nouns where possession is inherent.

tea, teo, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjectival stems. This suffix is distinguished from singular te- by change of vowel. If the singular has a as connecting vowel, the plural has o, and vice-versa. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs.

tce, first person plural. Suffixed with nouns where possession is accidental.

ya, we, w, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed (ya-) as subject of transitive verbs.

q, qo, qe, second person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs. Prefixed as subject or object of transitive verbs. Suffixed as possessive with nouns where possession is accidental.

Affix used with verbal stems:

x, g, k. Negative affix, with variable connecting vowel. Used either as prefix or suffix, or both.

B. PREFIXES.

Instrumental, with verbs:

a-	with a long object
e-	with the end of a long object
ma-	?
me-	with the head
mitci-	with the foot
tc-	?
teu-	with a round object
tu-	with the hand
wa-	by sitting on(?)

C. SUFFIXES.

With pronominal stems:

-owa	Combined with the independent pronouns of the first and second persons to form the inclusive and exclusive first person plural.
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With nominal stems:

Locative, instrumental.

-dan, -danku	ablative
-mdi, -mdu	instrumental

Miscellaneous.

-hni	many
-tan	many
-rotpin	only a, just a
-gulan	merely, only (Cf. negative affix -g)
-abo	also, too

With verbal stems:

Ideas of motion or direction.

-dam, -tam, -ktam	down
-Ema	into
-Enak	into
-ha	up
-hot	down
-lo	apart (?)
-mi	down (?)
-puye	around, about
-ro	up
-sku	towards
-smu	across
-tap	out
-tpi	out of
-usam	through
-xun	into

Modal, temporal.

-ak	completed action, past
-n, -ni, -in	incompleted action, present
-sun	present. Used apparently as the auxiliary verb to be.
-xan, -gon	future. (Former with verbal, latter with adjectival stems.)
-soop	conditional
-dialhin	dubitative
-hun	continuative
-pum	iterative
-wet	continuative
-teai	desiderative (?)
-eyè	reflexive
-ye	interrogative

-a	interrogative
-pu	interrogative
-da, -ida, -inda, -tinda	present participle
Miscellaneous.	
-tei	Used to indicate plurality, generally of the object, but occasionally of the subject.
-nan, -an	A general verbal suffix of uncertain meaning, possibly temporal (Cf. -ni, -in).

With all classes of stems:

-ot, -ut, -op	A suffix apparently with an intensive, or emphatic meaning, such as indeed, really, in truth. It is used with nominal, pronominal, verbal, adjectival, and adverbial stems.
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The above list brings out clearly several features of importance in regard to the Chimariko language. In the first place, it will be seen from the series of pronominal affixes, that these are by no means regular in position, appearing sometimes as prefixes, sometimes as suffixes. It is possible that in some cases they are also used as infixes. This variability of position of the pronominal elements with regard to the verbal stem is a feature also found developed among the Shastan languages, which adjoin Chimariko on the north, and differentiates these two languages from those which, like Washo, Chumash, Southern and North-eastern Maidu, have the pronominal elements in an invariable position. Although there seems to be a strong preference for prefixation, there are yet a large number of verbs which take the pronoun suffixed. No logical reason is apparent for the distinction, such verbs as to sit, to work, to dance, to run, to eat, and others, prefixing the pronominal elements, whereas to bleed, to grow, to die, and so on, take them suffixed. The lack of any logical division is shown still more clearly in the verbs indicating condition or state. Some, as to be good, to be bad, to be old, have the pronominal elements prefixed; others, as to be hot, to be cold, to be strong, suffix them. Dry belongs to the first class, and wet to the second. The employment of varied position in the pronominal affixes, to indicate two forms of possession, is interesting. Where possession is inherent, the elements are prefixed, where accidental, suffixed.

A further feature brought out by the list, is the great paucity

of nominal suffixes. Chimariko not only lacks such indications for grammatical cases and for number, but also is almost destitute of locative endings. An instrumental suffix it has, to be sure, but of locatives the only one noted is an ablative; there is apparently no general locative. In this paucity of locative suffixes, Chimariko lies at the other extreme from the majority of the languages of Central California, which possess a considerable development of this class of suffixes. Even the neighboring Shastan languages, although having fewer locatives than Maidu and Washo, still exceed Chimariko in this particular.

The considerable development of verbal instrumental prefixes, places Chimariko in this respect in agreement with Washo, Maidu, Wintun, and the Shastan languages. As is usual, the suffixes of motion precede those which are modal or temporal. In general, the large preponderance of suffixes over prefixes places Chimariko in the class of suffixing languages.

An interesting feature of the language is presented by the emphatic or intensive suffix -ut, -ot. It is used with the pronominal stems to form the independent pronouns, which are rarely used except for emphasis, or where the sense is doubtful. These may therefore be translated I indeed, I myself, and so on. With nouns, this suffix is used generally to mark either the subject or the object as the most important in the sentence, as, *citeela hītratinda puntsal-ot*, the dog bit the *woman* (not man); *ūmul-op yekotpumni*, *salmon* (not deer) I kill. In some cases, curiously, it is used with both subject and object, and in others entirely omitted. With verbs, its purpose is similar, to emphasize the verbal idea above any other in the sentence, as, *teimal-ot hititeex-ot pusūa man broke* (not cut, burned) the stick. With adjectives and adverbs it also intensifies the idea contained in the word to which it is added, as, *qa'a trēwil-ot nahak*, stone *large* bring me; *citel-op yekoxan himet-op*, *dog* I will kill *to-morrow*.

PRONOUN.

Chimariko, differing from a large number of languages in California, belongs to the class of incorporating languages. There are thus two forms for the personal pronoun, the independent and the incorporated.

INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUN.

In general, as already stated, the independent form is rarely used. A complete paradigm can not be given, as it proved impossible to get from any of the informants the second and third persons plural, they invariably using either the numeral two, or some word equivalent to many or several. So far as obtained the forms are as follows:

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	nōut	nōutowa (excl.) mamutowa (incl.)	nateidut
2.	mamut		
3.	hamut		

It will be seen that, as in so many American languages, the pronominal stems of the first and second persons are based on *n* and *m*. The independent forms are derived from the stems *nō-* and *mam-* by the addition of the emphatic suffix *-ut*. The form given for the third person is only rarely used, a demonstrative form, *pamut*, *paut*, *pât*, generally taking its place. Although the material secured is not entirely clear on this point, it is probable that there are, in addition to a simple plural formed by the addition of what is apparently a plural suffix *-atc*, also both an inclusive and exclusive form, derived from the first and second persons singular. On the other hand, it is possible that these two forms are really the first and second persons dual.

DEMONSTRATIVES.

Two demonstratives are known with certainty. These are formed with the stem *qè-*, near the speaker, here; and *pa-*, at a distance, there. These stems take the intensive suffix *-ut*, becoming thus *qèwot*, *qât*, this, and *pamut*, *paut*, *pât*, that.

INTERROGATIVES.

The interrogative pronouns are derived mainly from a single stem *qo-*, *qâ*, and are as follows:

<i>qomas</i> or <i>awilla</i>	who
<i>qâtei</i> or <i>pâtei</i>	what
<i>qomalla</i>	where
<i>qosidadji</i>	why
<i>qâsuk</i>	when
<i>qâtala</i>	how many
<i>qâteu</i>	how far
<i>qâtramdu</i>	how often

NOUN.

CASE SUFFIXES.

As might be expected from its being an incorporating language, Chimariko shows no trace of any syntactical cases. Locative and instrumental suffixes are largely lacking also, their place being taken in part by a small number of postpositions. The suffixes of locative or instrumental meaning derivable from the material at hand are only two: -dan, -danku, a general locative or more commonly ablative, and -mdi, -mdu, instrumental.

NUMBER.

Number is not indicated in the noun, and no variation for number is made when nouns are used with numeral adjectives. There are, however, two suffixes sometimes used to indicate a collective. These are -hni and -tan, as in qā'ahni, a lot of stones, many stones; itrītan, a crowd, a lot of men. The latter suffix seems to be a shortened form of hētan, many.

POSSESSIVE.

The possessive is formed by affixing to the noun the proper pronominal stem. Two classes of possession are recognized, accidental and inherent. In the former, the pronominal elements are always suffixed, and are -i, -mi, -ye, -ida, -tee, -qe, -ye, -ida; in the latter they are always prefixed, and are te-, m- h-. It will be seen that the same form of the pronominal element is used thus for inherent possession as is employed in intransitive verbs with stems indicating a quality or condition. Quality or condition may thus be thought of perhaps as more inherent in the subject than are motion or action, on stems denoting which the same pronominal elements are used as to indicate accidental possession. Examples of the use of the two forms are:

Accidental:

masomas-i	my red-salmon	āwai'-i	my house
masomas-mi	thy red-salmon	āwa-mi	thy house
masomas-ye	his red-salmon	āwa-ida	his house
masomas-itce	our red-salmon	āwa'-itce	our house
masomas-qe	your red-salmon	āwa-qe	your house
masomas-ye	their red-salmon	āwa-ida	their house

Inherent:

teū-po	my foot	teū-sam	my ear
mū-po	thy foot	mī-sam	thy ear
hū-po	his foot	hī-sam	his ear

Some question arises as to the two forms used in the third person where possession is accidental. The suffix -ye seems to be merely the interrogative, often found in use with verbs, so that this form should be translated: "is it his?" The use of -da on the other hand offers much difficulty. This suffix is, in its uses, far from clear, although its normal force, as used with verbs, is participial.

VERB.

The discussion of the verb may best be taken up under two headings, first the various affixes used for syntactical or etymological purposes, and second the stem and such modifications as it undergoes.

PRONOMINAL AFFIXES.

First in importance are the pronominal affixes. As stated in speaking of the pronoun, the independent forms are rarely used, and the subject and subject-object relationship is expressed instead by incorporated forms.

In the intransitive, the pronominal affixes show some variety of form, and a rather puzzling irregularity of use. The affixes in question are as follows:

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. te, i, y	te, ts, ya
2. m, mi	q, qe
3. h, '	h

As compared with the independent forms of the pronoun, it is evident that there is correspondence in the second and third persons, the first person being on the other hand entirely distinct. A further difference lies in the apparent absence, in the affixed form, of any distinction between inclusive and exclusive plurals. In use these pronominal elements seem normally to be prefixed,

being so used in over seventy per cent. of the cases known. In the remainder of the instances they are suffixed, with one or two possible cases where they seem to be infixes. From the small number of instances of this latter usage, however, it is not possible to be sure that the syllable following the pronominal element is really a part of the verbal stem. What principle determines the use of one or the other of these positions is obscure, such verbs as sing, work, be good, be blind, taking the elements as prefixes, whereas grow, die, be hungry, sick, take them as suffixes. One distinction can however be made, namely that verbs indicating action or movement invariably take the pronominal affixes prefixed.

It will be seen that two wholly different forms are given in both singular and plural for the first person. In the use of one or the other of these, there is a fairly clear distinction in use. The first type, *te*, is never employed with verbal stems indicating action or movement, but with those, on the contrary, which indicate a state or condition. On the other hand, whereas the second form, *i*, *y*, is invariably used with the former class of verbal stems, it is also employed with the latter, but is then always suffixed. In most cases, there is no confusion between the two forms, *i.e.*, if the first person singular is *i* or *y*, the first person plural is *ya*. A few instances appear however in which this does not hold, and we have *i* in the singular, and *te* or *ts* in the plural. In a limited number of cases also, either form may apparently be used, as *qè-i-xanan*, *qè-tee-xanan*, I shall die, *i-saxni*, *tea-saxni*, I cough. A phonetic basis is to some extent observable, in that *te* or *ts* is never a prefix when the verbal stem begins with a vowel. As between *i* and *y*, it appears that the latter is always used before stems beginning with a vowel except *i*, whereas *i* is employed before stems beginning with *i* or with consonants. The first persons singular and plural are distinguished from each other, where the form *te* is used, only by a change of connecting vowel already pointed out.

The pronominal elements as given, are, when used as prefixes, attached to the verb by means of connecting vowels. These, as stated in discussing the phonetic characteristics of the language,

often show some relation to the vowel of the verbal stem,¹² but this is noticeable chiefly in the case of *o* and *u* stems. The first persons singular and plural are distinguished from each other only by the change in this connecting vowel. As a rule, the first person singular is *teo* or *teu*, whereas the plural is *tea*. In one or two instances, however, this seems to be reversed.

The material collected to illustrate the use of the pronominal elements in the transitive verb, is unfortunately conflicting, and the lack of adequate text material here makes itself felt. In the transitive verb with nominal object the situation is clear enough. Here the pronominal elements used as subject are invariably prefixed, and are those used with the intransitive verbs indicating action or movement, *i.e.*, the first person appears always as *i*, *y*, or *ya*.

Where the object is pronominal, however, the usage is different, as the following table will indicate:

	<i>me</i>	<i>thee</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>them</i>
<i>I</i>		<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>		<i>i-atci</i>	?
<i>thou</i>	<i>mi-, me-</i>		<i>mi-</i>	<i>mi</i>		<i>mi</i>
<i>he</i>	<i>teu-, tea-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	?	<i>tea-, ya-</i>	<i>qo-, qa-</i>	?
<i>we</i>		<i>ya-</i>	<i>ya-</i>		<i>ya-</i>	<i>ya-</i>
<i>ye</i>	<i>qo-</i>		<i>qo-</i>	<i>qo-</i>		?
<i>they</i>	<i>teu-, tea-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ha-</i>	<i>tea-</i>	<i>qo-</i>	?

From this it is clear, that in the first and second persons, only the subject is expressed by a pronominal affix, and that the same form is used as with the transitive verb with nominal object. In the third person, on the other hand, it is the object rather than the subject which is expressed by the prefix, which here, in the

¹² Much the same occurs in the possessive prefixes of the noun. The following are observed cases of the third person possessive on body part terms:

Vowel of prefix same as that of stem:

i: *hi-wi*, *hi-mina*, *hi-ni*, *hi-mi*, *hi-ki*, *hi-pel*, *hi-teipe*, *hi-pen*.

u: *hu-truneu*, *hu-txun*, *hu-tsu*, *hu-tu*, *hu-sot*, *hu-po*.

a: *ha-wa*.

Vowel of prefix differing from stem:

i: *hi-ta*, *hi-tanpu*, *hi-sam*, *hi-wax*, *hi-ma*, *hi-pxa*, *hi-pxadji*, *hi-txa*, *hi-txanimaxa*, *hi-taxai*, *hi-suma*, *hi-mosni*.

u: *hu-si*, *hu-santeei*, *hu-tananundjatun*.

o: *ho-wec*, *ho-napu*, *ho-xu*.

e: *e-qa*, *e-que*.

It will be seen that the connecting vowel of the prefix contrasts with the stem about as often as it differs from it, but the principle determining the choice of vowel—which is definitely fixed for each word—is not clear. Conditions in the verb are generally similar.

case of the first person as object, is the other form, that namely in *tc*. In some cases, where the first or second persons are the subject, the independent form of the pronoun is used outside the verb to indicate the object. In other cases the independent forms were not used, leaving the meaning apparently obscure. To some extent Chimariko in this respect resembles the neighboring Shasta, where also both subject and object are not always indicated by incorporated pronominal elements. In Shasta, however, this loss of definiteness is atoned for by the wide use of demonstratives, which do not seem to be in use for the same purpose in Chimariko. In this connection should be mentioned the troublesome suffix *-da*, *-ida*, *-inda*, *-tinda*. This is frequently used with verbs, and was at first thought to be perhaps a demonstrative, but seems on the whole most probably to be simply the participial suffix *-da*, combined with the suffix of the present tense, *-in*, *-ni*. Examples of the use of pronominal elements with verbal stems are given below.

Nominal object:

<i>i-miteitni cīteela</i>	I kick the dog
<i>mi-miteitida cīteela</i>	You kick the dog
<i>hi-miteitni cīteela</i>	He kicks the dog
<i>ya-miteitni cīteela</i>	We kick the dog
<i>yo-miteit cīteela</i>	Ye kick the dog
<i>hi-miteit cīteela</i>	They kick the dog

Pronominal object:

<i>i-miteitni</i>	I kick you
<i>i-patni</i>	I poke you
<i>i-mamni</i>	I see you
<i>i-puimukni</i>	I pinch you
<i>i-miteitinda</i>	I kick him
<i>i-patni pamut</i>	I poke him
<i>i-mamni</i>	I see him
<i>i-puimukni</i>	I pinch him
<i>i-miteitnatei</i>	I kick you
<i>i-patnātei</i>	I poke you
<i>i-puimuknatei</i>	I pinch them
<i>me-miteitida</i>	You kick me
<i>me-patni</i>	You poke me
<i>me-puimukni</i>	You pinch me
<i>mi-miteitni</i>	You kick him
<i>mi-puimuk</i>	You pinch him
<i>mi-miteitida</i>	You kick us
<i>teu-miteitida</i>	He kicks me
<i>teu-hatni</i>	He pokes me

teu-mamni	He sees me
mi-miteitni	He kicks you
mi-hatni, mi-hatinda	He pokes you
mi-mamni(?)	He sees you
tea-miteitinda	He kicks us
tea-puimuk	He pinches us
tea-mamni	He sees us
qo-miteitinda	He kicks you
qa-hatni	He pokes you
hi-miteitinda(?)	He kicks them
ya-mamni	We see you
ya-mamni	We see him
qo-mama	Ye see me
qo-mama	Ye see him
teu-mamtinda	They see me
mi-mamtinda	They see you

A feature of considerable importance in the structure of the verb lies in the apparent use, although rarely, of nominal incorporation, and possibly of complete incorporation of both subject and object pronominal elements. In the texts as obtained occur the forms *āpexadjit* and *āpisuxta*, translated respectively as "fire he steals" and "fire he throws away." The noun fire is *āpu*, and the verbal stems *-xadj*, to steal, and *-sux*, to throw, occur frequently without any such apparent incorporation of nominal object. As these are the only clear cases, nominal incorporation is hardly a characteristic of the language. The tendency toward such forms may however be seen also in the words for wink and to shake the head, *(nu)sulaplap*, *(teu)maitsat*, the former incorporating the stem for eye (*-sot*), the other that for head (*-ma*). A single instance of apparent incorporation of both subject and object pronominal elements occurs in the form *ye-mam-i-xan*, probably for *ye-mam-mi-xan*, I-feed(eat)-you-will, I will feed you. As the verbal stem here ends in *m*, it is difficult to tell whether the *i* really stands for *mi* or is simply euphonic before the future suffix.

REFLEXIVE.

The reflexive is indicated by the use of the suffix *-eye*, *-yiye*, *-ēiyeu*, added directly to the verbal stem, the prefixed pronominal elements being the same as those used with the intransitive verb.

i-teut-ēiyeu	I strike myself
mi-teut-ēiyeu	you strike yourself
hi-teut-ēiyeuni pamut	he strikes himself

IMPERATIVE.

The imperative is indicated in the singular by a prefix *n-*, which always takes the same connecting vowel between it and the verbal stem as the second person singular indicative. The verbal stem is in most cases used without suffix of any sort. For the exhortative "let us" the prefix of the first person plural, *y-*, *ya-*, is used, the verbal stem being similarly without suffixes.

na-tak	sing!
ni-miteit	kick him!
ni-puimuk	pinch him!
n-ama	eat!
ya-texuai	let us fight!
ya-traxismu	let us run!
y-amma	let us eat!

FORMATIVE AFFIXES.

Apart from the pronominal and the modal and temporal elements, there are two classes of affixes used with the verb. One of these is instrumental in meaning, the other is used to modify the idea of motion contained in the verbal stem.

Ideas of instrumentality, as that the action is performed by the hand, foot, end of a long thing, and so forth, are expressed uniformly by means of prefixes. This is in accord with the usual rule of American languages, and with the usage of three of the stocks which are in close geographical proximity to Chimariko, the Shasta, Maidu, and Wintun. These instrumental prefixes are placed immediately before the verbal stem, and, so far as obtained, are as follows:

a-	with a long object
e-	with the end of a long object
ma-	?
me-	with the head
mitei-	with the foot
te-	?
teu-	with a round object
tu-	with the hand
wa-	by sitting on(?)

Examples:

ni-a-axiaxe	rub with long thing (side of?)
n-a-klucmu	knock over with bat
ni-e-kluemu	knock over with end of pole by thrust

ni-e-kmu	roll log with end of pole
ni-me-kmu	roll log with head, by butting
i-me-kluemu	knock over with head, butt over
ni-mitei-kluemu	knock over with foot, kick over
ni-mitei-kmu	roll log with foot
ni-teu-kluemu	knock over with a stone, ball
ni-tu-kluemu	knock over with hand
ni-tu-kmu	roll log with hand
ni-tu-xiaxe	rub with hand
ni-wa-tecexu	break by sitting on.

Modifications of the idea of motion expressed in the verbal stem are indicated uniformly by suffixes, and not by prefixes. The meanings of some of these suffixes are not as yet wholly clear, and it is probable that the list could be extended by further material.

-dam, -tam, -ktam	down
-ema	into
-enak	into
-ha	up
-hot	down
-lo	apart(?)
-mi	down(?)
-puye	around, about
-ro	up
-sku	towards
-smu	across
-tap	out
-tpi	out of
-usam	through
-xun	into

Examples :

nu-tu'-ema	jump into
na-ar-ha	climb up
wak-ti-he-inda	they travel about
ni-sâp-hot-mi	slide down roof
ni-tu-k-tam	roll down with hand
ni-te-xa-lo	pull out tooth
hu-tsut-min	he flies down
hu-tut-puye	he flies around
hu-tsu-sku	he flies toward
ni-tu-smu	jump across toward
hu-tsu-tap-ni	he flies out
nu-tu-tpim	jump out of
nu-tu-tusam	jump, run under
ni-teuk-xun-mi	hammer into down (a nail)

TEMPORAL AND MODAL AFFIXES.

As in the case of the last group, ideas of tense or mode are uniformly expressed by suffixes, and these suffixes invariably follow any suffixes of motion where these are used. In the case of the future, the suffix follows the verbal stem or suffixes of motion when the pronominal element is prefixed, but comes after the latter in those cases where it is suffixed. In addition to those here given, there are several suffixes of which the meaning is still obscure.

-ni, -nin, -in, present, incompleted action:

i-mam-ni	I see you
teu-kei-ni	he hears me
södrè-i-ni	I bleed

-sun, present. Used apparently as the auxiliary verb to be.

-ak, -k, past, completed action:

amemtuin-ak	I was hungry
ya-hadan-ak	we were rich
ecomdum-qa-te-ak-cur	ye were cold then

-gon, -xan, future:

pala-tee-gon	we shall be strong
amemtu-tee-gon xani	I shall be hungry by and by
ye-hada-e-gon	I shall be rich
yo-wam-xanan	I shall go
hi-mum-han	he will run
ye-ko-xanan	I shall kill him

-da, -ida, -inda, -tinda, present participle:

puntsari-da anowesta itrila	woman-being she whipped boy
imim-da i-txa-Eni	I stop running (running I stop)
i-mam-ni samxun-ida	I saw him dancing
hi-samxun-inda ye-ko-n	I kill him while dancing (dancing I kill)
qo-xowin-tinda	ye being old, ye are old
i-miteit-inda	I (am) kicking him

-ye, -e, interrogative:

ma-ko-ye	are you going to kill me?
mi-ke'e-ye	do you hear me?

-soop, conditional:

mi-mum-soop ye-nuwec-xan	if you run, I shall whip you
himeta hitak-soop yu-wam-xan	if it rains to-morrow, I will go
qè-soop	if (I) should die.

-dialhin, dubitative:

qe-te-ok-dialhin	perhaps I shall be sick (sick-I-perhaps)
mi-miteit-dialhin	you kick he may (he may kick you)

-hun, -nihun, continuative:

ye-tak-nu-hun	I continue to sing
ye-man-hun	I continue to eat

-wet, continuative:

i-mum-wet	I run all the time
ye-ma-wet	I eat continually

-tcai, desiderative:

xo-wam-gu-tcai-nan	not-go-not-wish
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-pu, interrogative.*-xa, -xo, -xu, -xe, -gu, -k*, negative:

ma-xa-hada-nan	you are not rich
teo-xo-xu-nan	I am not fat
xe-tak-nan	I am not singing
pala-mi-gu-nan	you are not strong
me-xe-puimuk-unan	you are not pinching me

The negative is expressed in two ways, according as the pronominal elements are prefixed or suffixed to the verbal stem. In the former case, a prefix *xa-*, *xo-*, *xe-* is placed between the verbal stem and the pronominal element, and a suffix *-nan* added after the verbal stem or such other suffixes as there may be. The essential element seems to be *x*, the connecting vowel varying with that of the pronominal element and the verbal stem. In the first person singular intransitive, it is generally *xe-*, and the pronominal element is omitted. Where the pronominal elements are suffixed, the negative affix is combined with *-nan*, and is placed as a suffix following the pronominal element, the *x* being changed to a *g*, and the connecting vowel sometimes dropping out, resulting in the form *-gnan*. In some cases, indeed quite frequently in the transitive verb, the negative affix appears twice, *xo-* or *xu-* preceding, and *-gu* following the verbal stem. Very commonly the apparently desiderative suffix *-tcai* is used with the negative, resulting in a form which may be translated "do not wish to."

VERBAL STEMS.

In a limited number of instances, a different verbal stem is employed in the plural from that in the singular. Not infrequently, however, informants, on giving such forms, on closer questioning admitted that the singular stem might also be used, and that the variant stem first given for the plural might be

used also in the singular, *i.e.*, the two stems were merely synonyms. Only two cases were found which did not appear to be explainable in this manner, and the second seems only to belong partly to this category, inasmuch as the distinction holds good only in the present tense.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Sit	-wo-	-pat-
Run	-mum-	-teaxis-

The verbal stems which have been isolated in the analysis of the material collected, are both monosyllabic and polysyllabic. Many of the latter are probably derivatives, but it has not been possible to analyze them as yet. The great majority of stems appear to be monosyllabic.

Monosyllabic:

ap	get off horse	luc	shake, throw
ar	climb	mai	carry
at	strike	man	fall
ax	lose, get lost	maq	roast
bis	split	ma, ama	eat
dai	pay	mat	find
djek	go in a boat	mo	fall
hâ, hoa	stand	mu	make
hai	spit, vomit	mum	run
ham	carry	pa	smoke
hap	take down	pâk	burst(?)
hen, pen	lick	pat	sit
huc, xuc, kos	blow	pim	play
koc	whisper	po	dig
k	roll	poi	sleep
kat	break, separate	pu	work
kè	understand	pû	shoot
ki	lean	pxel	twist
kim, gim	float, hang	qè	die
kir	scratch	qi	carry on head
klu	slip, slide (Cf. lu)	qo	pour
kluc	knock over (Cf. luc)	qô	kill
kmu	make, do (Cf. mu)	qol	shatter
ko	talk	sâp	slide
kot	tattoo	sax	cough
ku	cut	sek	swallow
kut	keep(?)	sik, sim	accompany
lè	hiccough	cik	cover up
lot	mash	sit	sharpen
lu	drink	six	sweep
lus	drop	su	throw

sum	look for	teum	marry
ta	pull, tear	texua	fight
tak	sing	wa	go, travel
tös	break	whék	push
tot	bury	wō	cry
tu	fly	wo	sit
txax	abandon	xai	make
tra	spread out, tear	xadj, xate	steal
tcex	break in two	xū	swim
tei, teit	squeeze(?)	xu	whistle
teu	sleep		

Polysyllabic:

adap	grow	samut	stay behind
amē	hungry (Cf. am, ama, eat)	samxu	dance
		trahu	know
mi'ina, i'ini	like, love	teiwa	sell
inada	wait for	wemtso	gamble
koru	bend	xaca	yawn
licxu	lose	xatutu	snore
luli, luri	drop, fall	xaxo	pull
mamat	alive	xiaxe	rub
nook	recover	xota	watch
oru	reach up for		

Reduplicated:

tudu	jump	lolo	cut up
pupul	nod	potpot	boil
laplap,		xexe	sweep
raprap	wink		

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectival stems are commonly polysyllabic. The attributive and predicative forms are alike, and the former precedes the noun, whereas the latter follows. In their combination with the pronominal elements, some take these before, some after the stem,⁴ as pointed out previously, but no rule has been found for the varied use.

NUMERALS.

The numeral system of the Chimariko is quinary up to ten and then continues decimally. Six is 1-cibum, seven is 2-sbum, eight is 4-cibum, nine is 1-teigu, ten is sa'an-1, eleven is 1-lasut or 1-rasut, twelve is 2-risut or 2-lsut, thirteen is 3-risut or 3-ulsut, and so on regularly to twenty, which is two-ten, xoku-mtun

sa'anpun. Thirty is three-ten, xoda-m-tun sa'anpun, and one hundred is wood-one, pucua-pun. Numerals seem to be unchanged, and do not vary with things counted.

POSTPOSITIONS.

The paucity of locative suffixes in the noun is in part made up for by a few postpositions, which serve to point out locative ideas. But two have been tentatively identified, and their use may be seen from the following:

āwa xunoi yeaxu'nmoxxanan	house into I shall go
pusua hiya'talot teūmū	board it lies under

CONNECTIVES.

Chimariko is apparently rather destitute of connectives. In the text fragments secured, they do not appear at all, but the texts are clearly somewhat disjointed, and so do not serve as satisfactory material to judge from. The complete absence of connectives, however, seems to point to their comparative rarity.

ORDER OF WORDS.

The usual order of words is subject-verb-object, or subject-object-verb. In some cases, however, particularly when the subject is pronominal, the order is reversed, object preceding subject. In the transitive verb when the independent pronoun is used as object, the order is regularly subject-verb-object. When one of two nouns stands in a possessive relation to the other, the possessor always precedes the thing possessed.

CONCLUSION AND RELATIONS.

Compared with neighboring linguistic families, Chimariko occupies a somewhat intermediate position. In phonetic character it lies rather between the smooth, vocalic languages of the Central Californian type, and the harsher, more consonantal Northwestern type. In this respect it is like the Shastan family, and may be regarded on the whole as belonging to that group. In its use of incomplete incorporation and its lack of plural it also

resembles this type, but differs from it in its lack of syntactical cases, and its greater paucity of nominal locative suffixes. In common with the Shastan languages, and some of those of Central California, is its use of verbal instrumental prefixes. It will be seen, therefore, that Chimariko does not fall distinctly into either the Central or Northwestern morphological group, and may more properly be regarded as belonging to the Shastan type. In the general classification of Californian languages recently proposed,¹³ Chimariko was placed with the Northwestern type, but it was stated that it showed less clearly than the others of that group the distinctive features upon which the group was based.

The considerable degree of similarity in grammatical and phonetic character between the Chimariko and the Shastan family, lends further interest and importance to certain curious features on the lexical side. Comparison of Chimariko with Hupa and Wintun shows practically nothing in the way of lexical resemblance, and in the case of Wintun at least, less than one might expect in the way of direct borrowing between two adjacent and friendly tribes. If comparison be made however with the Shastan family, a different situation is revealed, for between forty and fifty cases have been noted here, in which lexical correspondence is clear or probable. The similarities are found in words of varied classes, including parts of the body, animals, artificial and natural objects, and verbal stems. Further, a number of verbal instrumental prefixes and directive suffixes, and perhaps pronominal elements, show agreement also. So considerable a number of lexical similarities, and with so wide a range, brings up sharply the question how far such agreements are to be regarded as due to borrowing. That one language should adopt from another a few words is to be expected; but can the possession of common forms for such fundamental words as head, ear, mouth, tooth, tongue, man, woman, fire, water, deer, rattlesnake, and several numerals, and such verbal stems as to eat and to see, be explained on this basis? The explanation of borrowing here is made more difficult in view of the further fact

¹³ Dixon and Kroeber, *The Native Languages of California*, *Am. Anthr.*, n. s., V, 18, 1903.

that the larger number of similarities are not between Chimariko and its immediate neighbor the Shasta, but between Chimariko and the Atsugewi and Achomawi, members of the Shastan family, but separated from the Chimariko by the whole extent of Wintun and Yanan territory. As has been pointed out,¹⁴ the Achomawi and Atsugewi are lexically widely divergent from the Shasta, and in many cases Chimariko agrees with forms in Achomawi or Atsugewi where their stems differ wholly from Shasta. If borrowing is the explanation of these agreements, then we must assume that the Chimariko and Achomawi and Atsugewi were formerly contiguous peoples, since separated by migration. Such movements must have been however relatively old, as no traditions or other evidences of migration are observed. If, on the other hand, the similarities are regarded as of such character and number as to point to real genetic relationship, then we have another instance of the great degree of differentiation which has taken place within the Shastan family. That this is unquestionably great, is shown by both Achomawi and Atsugewi, and the problematical Konomihu, with which latter indeed, there are one or two agreements in Chimariko. The fact that, in spite of the close association of the Chimariko with the Wintun, there has been practically no borrowing, and that the phonetics and grammar of the Chimariko show close similarities with those of the Shastan family, makes the probability of real relationship much greater.

The following list illustrates the more striking instances of lexical agreement between the Chimariko and Shastan families:

	<i>Chimariko.</i>	<i>Shasta.</i>	<i>Achomawi.</i>	<i>Atsugewi.</i>
arm	-tanpu		lapau	rapau
armpit	cilëiteumuni		amdjilex	tumiteilëha
blood	cötri			ieuri
ear	-sam	isak	isat	
eye	-sot		a'sa	
excrement	-waxni			wehki
head	-ma	-na (Konomihu)	lax	naxa
intestines	-pxa	ipxai	bitsxol	bitsxaru
leg	-txan	xatis		
liver	-ci	äpci		

¹⁴ Dixon, *The Shasta-Achomawi: A New Linguistic Stock, with Four New Dialects*, *Am. Anthr.*, n. s., VII, 213-217.

	<i>Chimariko.</i>	<i>Shasta.</i>	<i>Achomawi.</i>	<i>Atsugewi.</i>
milk	ēīra	itsik	etcit	ateiska
mouth	(ha)wa	au	ap'bo	ap'bo
neck	-ki			op'ki
teeth	-tsu	etsau	itsa	itsau
tongue	-pen, -hen	chena		
man	itri, itci	ie		
woman	puntsar	daritei		minridsara
ant	pelo'a		blamasa	
deer	a'a	adau, arau		
raccoon	yeto'a			toh'kaa
rattlesnake	qawu	xowatid	häuta	
wolf	eiteiwi	teiwa	tsimu	
acorn	yutri			yummi
willow	pate'xu		bas	pateu
day	ase	ateaii		assiyi
fog	aptum		datumumdji	
fire	a'pu			pah'yi
smoke	qe		maqets	
stone	qa	kwasunip (Konomihu)		
sun	alla		tsul	
water	aka	atsa	as	ats'si
winter	asoti		astsui	
arrow	sā		sat (arrow- point)	
bow	xâpuncu	xau		
deer-trap	haxaktea			hatsda
fishline, hook	hamamegutea	amai	damame	
spear	hasunwedeu		lasu	nasu
soup-basket	poqela	yapuk		
two	xok'u	xokwa	hak	hoki
three	xodai	xatski	tsasdi	kiski
five	tsanehe	êtsa		tsanse
to eat	-am-, -ama-		-am-	-ammi-
to carry	-mai-		-mu-	
to cry	-wo-		-wo-	
to dent	-kxol-		-qol-	
to drop	-lus-, -lur-		-lup-	
to pull off	-pul-		-pil-	
to see	-mam-		-nima-	-ima-
with the foot	mitci-		tsi-	
with the hand	tu-			to-
by sitting on	wa-			we-
downwards	-mi		-mi-	-mi
across, through	-smu			-snu (into)
out of	-tap			-ta
I	te		s	s
thou	m			m
this	qe			gepi

In the present state of our knowledge of the extent to which borrowing has taken place in California at large, it is difficult to arrive at a definite solution of the question of the relationship of Chimariko with the Shastan family. The extent of the similarity in this case, however, points to the necessity of a thorough investigation of the whole matter of borrowing throughout the state. The question also involves the much wider one of the real limits of genetic relationship, in the need of determining the character and number of agreements which shall be regarded as essential to establish common descent.

TEXTS.

The following text fragments comprise all that was secured. The translation is often doubtful, but as a rule, that which was given by my informant has been given, with queries where the meaning is evidently wrong. The same word is often spelled differently in different places, it seeming better to give the forms just as they were heard at the time, rather than to attempt to reduce them to a common spelling. Not infrequently the text forms differ from those secured in the paradigms of grammatical material. Explanations and discussion of uncertain points are given in the notes. I have attempted to give a running translation of three of the tales, but they are so fragmentary and confused, that it is almost impossible.

I. THE SORCERER.

himi'santo (Sorcerer)	haa'tpikta ¹ he comes out	teima'r a person	oha'tida ² shooting magically	hako't ³ he kills
pokelai'dop ⁴ basket	itexũ'tdũxta ⁵ hiding it away	teima'r a person	akoděe'nda missing him	
kowa'doknanda ⁶ he does not return	puntsar woman	wa'xni ⁷ went away	qowā'doknanda she did not return	ā'wa house
nateiwa'mda ⁸ she went to	qowa'doknanda she did not return	hō'wadokta ⁹ she did not return (?)	qē'wokinda ¹⁰ said she was sick	
wa'xni went away	qowa'doknan ¹¹ she did not return	itse'xni she took	mūtu'm canoe	qā'suk ¹² why
hoida'nda ¹³ did she not return	qowā'dokdanda ¹⁴ she did not return	mā'ta sweathouse	xunoi in	ateũ'dat ¹⁵ he lay

iteūkar ¹⁰ drowned	wa'mdaanda ¹⁷ he went off	ūpo' ¹⁸ track	wuqā'danda ¹⁹ (?)	owa'xtanda he went off
howa'mtanda he has gone	hiwo'nda ²⁰ he stays	ima'mni ²¹ I see him	xūxwō'danapton didn't look at him	
hiwō'mda staying	ateū'danda he lies down	pun one	puntsa'ri woman	madē'patinda (?)
hama'mdanda he eats	huwū'mxanan ²² I am going	dime'da tomorrow	xūno'mniteku Salmon River to	
amai'da place	hūu'mxanan. ²³ I am going.			

NOTES.

¹ ha-a-tpik-ta. The suffix -tpi, out of, seems sometimes to occur with a final k. The suffix -ta may be the participle. The stem is a.

² The stem -hat- also occurs in the following: nihatxa, poke; nohat'öi, close window. -ida is the participial suffix.

³ Probably contracted from ha-ko-tinda.

⁴ Contracted from pokelaida-op. The suffix is the intensive.

⁵ This stem occurs also as -txat-. The suffix occurs also in himai'dukta, he carried it home. See note 6.

⁶ Ko is xo, negative prefix. -wa-dok, to return, from -wa-, -owa-, to go, and -dok a suffix apparently meaning backwards, or toward speaker.

⁷ Perhaps contracted from öwa'xni.

⁸ Perhaps nātei-awamda, we go. The first person plural has not been found elsewhere without the intensive suffix -dut.

⁹ Probably participial.

¹⁰ This stem also occurs as qēdjok-, qēteok-.

¹¹ Shortened from qowa'doknanda.

¹² Interrogative of uncertain meaning.

¹³ Verbal stem here is obscure. Negative prefix ho- is xo-.

¹⁴ No explanation of the difference between -danda and -nanda could be secured.

¹⁵ The stem -teu- is also used for to sleep. The ending -t occurring quite frequently in the texts, after participial and other endings, is found but rarely in the paradigms secured. Its function has not been made out.

¹⁶ The stem here is -teuk-.

¹⁷ Abbreviated (?) from howam'danda.

¹⁸ Literally his-foot.

¹⁹ The stem appears to be qā-, which occurs also in nuqā'duha, lie on back, nuqā'ohunmī, lie on belly.

²⁰ For hiwo'mda. The stem apparently also occurs as -wam-, as in iwa'mdaxanan, I'll stay. Owa-, -owam- on the other hand means to go.

²¹ Analyzed as i-mam-ni, i being the pronominal prefix of the first person singular, and -ni the suffix of the present tense.

²² Probably for howa'mxanan. The stem is owam, howam, with the future suffix -xan.

²³ See previous note.

II. THE FLOOD.

wai'da	howa'mda ¹	citce'lla	teitindo'sa	hitake'gon ²
Eastwards	going	dog	coyote	it will rain
hiko'se'egon	yū'triina	ma'wimuda'texun ³	teitindo'sawi	
it will blow	live-oak acorns	hold tight	coyote	
yū'tri	ino'p ⁴	iko'tkut ⁵	teiteindo'sa	exo'kut ⁶
live-oak	tree (?)	it blew	coyote	blew away
huhoada'ndat ⁷	nuwauk ⁸	pala'mixan ⁹	nuwau'k	iko'tce ¹⁰
he stood up	"Come back!	you shall be strong	come back!	blows (?)"
citce'lla	pai't ¹¹	ā'wawum ¹²	la'mipukni ¹³	teugu'teen ¹⁴
dog	he said	go back	you are weak	I do not want to
teitindo'sa	xowomgutcai'nan	yeko'xanan ¹⁵	awu'm ¹⁶	
coyote	I do not wish to go	I will kill you	let's go	
mowa'm ¹⁷	nuwa'm ¹⁸	po'lam	teitindo'sa	hawè'da ¹⁹
you go	go on!	alone	coyote	he was angry with
citce'lla	yā'texuai ²⁰	teitindo'sa	teugu'teen	yuwau'mni ²¹
dog	let's fight	coyote	I don't want to	I'm going
amā'misudaye ²²	ā'mamiknati'nda ²³	yowa'mdaxanan ²⁴		
is that your place	that is not your place	I shall go		
yūwa'ktaktecai'nan ²⁵	citce'lla	xomi''inanan ²⁶	awakdaxa'n ²⁷	
I do not want to go around	dog	I don't like	let's go around	
mice'qe ²⁸	awakdaxa'n	mica'kui ²⁹	mago'lla ³⁰	
"miceqe"	let's go around	nephew	uncle	
husi'kdaktecai'nan ³¹	yeteu'mdaxanan ³²	mice'qe	teitindo'sa	
he doesn't want to follow	I'm going to get married	"miceqe"	coyote	
howa'ktayanaxa'nan ³³	yeteu'mdan	ā'qiteu'kdamhut ³⁴		
I am not coming back	I am married	water flood		
teetre'teexanan ³⁵	qē'wot	tea'ldan	ā'wu	ā'wa
we all shall die	this	metal	mountain	house
yawē'risam ³⁷	homō'xat ³⁸	ā'wa	yā'mut	omū'xan ³⁹
we make holes through	it fell down	house	we fix	all fell down
tea'xadjisen ⁴⁰	qē'tee	nū'nū	aqiteu'kni ⁴¹	hita'kta ⁴²
all do not wish	die	(?)	water coming	raining
hita'kta	hipū'i ⁴³	iteuxu'nmit ⁴⁴	amēteatra'djixan ⁴⁵	hita'kta
raining	it snowed	it got deep	all will starve	raining
aqā'	hiteu'kni ⁴⁶	aqiteu'ksas	ē'ye(q)eteexa'non	pu'namar ⁴⁷
water	it came	water comes	all will die	not one

qudro'tpīnan ⁴⁸ left	aqidju'tkun ⁴⁹ water coming		qèitei'yaxan all will die		qâtus Frog
puih'tsedan ⁵⁰ went about in boat	qèitei'yaxan all will die		qâtus Frog	hidje'ktan ⁵¹ he went in boat	exâ'tcei Otter
aqi'ktan ⁵² he floated	hūnē'ri Mink	aqi'ktan he floated	tei'mar people	tcetra'xut ⁵³ all dead	pun one
me'matinda ⁵⁴ alive	tei'mar person	hupo'n ⁵⁵ his rib	tca'txun bone	himat'ta ⁵⁶ he found	
itxa'ndakutat ⁵⁷ I keep it		ixotawè't ⁵⁸ I look at it		tca'txun bone	iwoxu'nmila ⁵⁹ near sunset
xara'lima't'ta ⁶⁰ baby find		aumgilo'da in basket	xaro'la baby	ūlē'di ⁶¹ small	ma't'ta found
itxa'ndaguta'ndat ⁶³ I keep it always		hamē'u ⁶³ food	ā'mat ⁶⁴ she ate	ha'ralolē'do baby-small	hā'mat she ate
puntsa'la ⁶⁵ girl	olē'da small	hiwo't ⁶⁶ sat	puntsa'lla girl	pun one	i'tri man
pā'teigut ⁶⁷ none					
tei'mar persons	xoku'lit ⁶⁸ we are two		ēpatma'mdat ⁶⁹ we remain		i'trirop ⁷⁰ that man
ē'xapūda ⁷¹ hunting					
ā'a deer	puntsa'la girl	amanū'da he fed	i'tri man	awa'nhut I stay	owelai' ⁷² little boy
dah'ta born	etaxa'nat ⁷³ many shall be		tei'mar people	owelai'top ⁷⁴ boy	itri'hida ⁷⁵ growing
mahinoi'yat had children		puntsa'la girls	teimar people	etaxa'n will be many	āqiteu'ktam water-flood
hinoo'kni (?)	teo'tan (?)	hamē'u food	i'trihinda is growing	qâ'tei grass	hiā'dapteehanda ⁷⁶ growing now
yū'tri acorns	ameba'nda ⁷⁷ are plenty		mu'nē black-oak	ameba'nda are plenty	hē'putciina live-oak acorns
amēbanda are plenty	ya'qa white-oak acorns	amēba'nda are plenty	hē'eigo hazel		hateiani'nda are many
tei'miana sarvice-berry	amēba'nda are plenty	manzanita	is plenty	salmon	come many
tša'wi eels	ē'tjumunda ⁷⁸ are many		amata'nda they ate		ho'samhūnita'nda ⁷⁹ they danced
hē'uma'htanda ⁸⁰ gambled		hū'ktatandaman many go about		owa'ktihiēnda ⁸¹ they come	tei'mar people
pohimta'nda they sleep		hosa'm dance	hūnidē'u (?)	pohimta'nda ⁸² they slept	tei'mar people

wa'ktixēinda ⁸³	hepata'nda ⁸⁴	ha'matanda	ha'madēu ⁸⁵
went about	they stayed	they ate	food
hitxa'itanda ⁸⁶	xema'non ⁸⁷	yuma'mxanan	xema'non
they finished	I am not eating	I'm going off	I am not eating
pomū'yen	howa'mgutcainan	qèdjo'kni ⁸⁸	hūtimhukteai'nan
I'm sleepy	I'm not going	I am sick	follow I don't want to
nūwa'man	ā'wam	himollai'	mowa'mimi'ina ⁸⁹
you go	let's go	niece	you want to go.

NOTES.

¹ Probably participial.

² The more common future suffix -xan is sometimes -gon, as here, and elsewhere.

³ The verbal stem here is -imu-, to hold. The form is second person, future, the force of the suffix -ate being here obscure.

⁴ The more usual word for tree seems to be at'a, atsa.

⁵ The usual stem for "to blow" is -kos-, koc-, -xos-. This form -kot- appears again below, and also in hekoteu, tattoo-mark. The suffix -ku implies separation.

⁶ Another form of the stem for "to blow," seen also in teoxū'xanan, I shall blow away, and in yoxun'ot, I whistle.

⁷ The stem is -hoa-, -hā-; seen also in yohō'adaxanan, I shall stand up, nuhā'da, stand up!

⁸ With the imperative prefix n-. -wauk is probably a contraction from -watok-. Other forms are -wok-, -wak-, -wax-.

⁹ Pala- is the stem, -xan the future suffix, -mi the suffix of the second person singular.

¹⁰ The suffix -tee appears also in such forms as moxolitee, you are bad, maxawintcei, you are old.

¹¹ The stem here is pa-.

¹² Probably the same stem as -owa-. Occurs also in natecidut ā'wam, we go, ya'aye, I go for, awu'm, let's go.

¹³ One of the apparent cases of infixed pronouns, la-mi-puk-ni. La- also occurs as la-i-dam-ni, I am tired, la-mi-dam-a, are you tired?

¹⁴ Apparently from a stem -teai-, -tee-, to wish, desire. Seen also in such forms as xowā'mgutcainan, I won't go.

¹⁵ The stem is -ko-. Ye- is the pronominal prefix of the first person singular, -xanan the future suffix.

¹⁶ See note 12.

¹⁷ Stem is -owa-. M- is the pronominal prefix of the second person singular.

¹⁸ Imperative.

¹⁹ The stem here is apparently -wē-, seen also in teawē'pan, I am angry with you, mawē'ni, you are mean, surly.

²⁰ This stem -texua'- is seen also in yetexua'xanan, I shall fight; mēte-xua', have you been, are you fighting?

²¹ Y- is the pronominal prefix of the first person singular; the stem is -owa- and the suffix -ni is that of the present tense.

²² Ama-mi-su-da-ye. Perhaps "place-your-being"; see under Pronoun, possessive.

- 23 The -k- here is the negative.
- 24 The use of the prefix -da with the suffix of the future is frequent.
- 25 Probably contracted from y-uwa-tok-da-k-teai-nan, the -k- being the negative. For -teai- see note 14; -tok-, -ok is a suffix meaning backwards.
- 26 The negative prefix xo-, with the stem -mi'inan-.
- 27 See note 12. The -k- is here again negative.
- 28 An exclamation characteristic of Coyote, and frequently used by him.
- 29 Not the usual form, which is himollai.
- 30 Either maternal or paternal apparently.
- 31 The stem is -sik-, seen also in yusi'mxan, I'll follow; mexasi'-mnate-xun, don't you follow. The prefix is that of the third person singular.
- 32 The stem is -teum-.
- 33 The prefix h- is apparently the negative, which is more usually x-.
- 34 Obscure. The same stem appears in niteu'ktam, to lie on ground, of a round thing; also perhaps in hiteu'kni, he drowns.
- 35 Probably modified from teet-qē'-tee-xanan. The use of tee- both before and after the stem -qe-, to die, seems intended to intensify the meaning, we all.
- 36 The stem here is -mu-, appearing also in i'muxanan, I will fix. The prefix is that of the first person plural.
- 37 The stem is -wer-, -wel-, seen also in hawe'lsamni, it goes through a hole.
- 38 Translation doubtful. Probably homu'xat, from the same stem as ya'mu.
- 39 See note 38.
- 40 Translation doubtful. Apparently tea-xa-djisen, the stem -dji- being perhaps related to -teai-, to wish, desire.
- 41 See note 34.
- 42 Probably participial. The stem -tak- seems to be homophonous with that for to sing.
- 43 The stem is apparently -pūi-, not to be confounded with -pu-imu- as in i-pūi-mukni, I pinch (with-fingers-press, hold-tightly).
- 44 Probably hi-teu-xun-mi-t. The prefix teu- indicates a bulky object. The stem -xun- appears also in niteuxu'nmi, pound down a nail; notsoxu'n-mu, bore a hole; ni'axunmutpu, put cap on pen, cover on box. The suffix -mi seems to refer generally to the ground, or motion downwards, as nya'tmi, a flat thing lies on ground; nuqa''ohunmi, lie on belly.
- 45 See note 35. The two forms seem to be identical, except for the addition here of ame-, meaning hunger.
- 46 See note 34.
- 47 Pun is the numeral "one."
- 48 Translation doubtful. The suffix -rotpin occurs in the forms pu'n-usrotpin, one left; xo'kosrotpin, two left.
- 49 Probably aqi-teut-xan, for aqi-teuk-xan. See note 34.
- 50 The stem seems to be -tse-, seen also in itse'xni, she took boat.
- 51 The stem here, -djek-, teek-, seems to be related to that in itse'xni.
- 52 Probably participial. Two explanations of this form seem possible, either aqi-k-tan, water-rolling (-k-, to roll, move over surface), or (h)a-qik-tan, the stem -qik- being for -qim-, -kim-, seen in aki'mni, he floats.
- 53 See note 35.
- 54 Compare ma-i-mat-ni, I am alive; ma-mi-mat-a, are you alive?
- 55 Po is elsewhere always used for foot.

- ⁵⁶ Stem is -mat- seen also in ima'tni, I find. Probably participial.
- ⁵⁷ Other comparable forms are, miti'nda kutaxa'na, shall you keep it; ieehe'nda kutaxa'na, I shall keep it. Itxan is the word for leg.
- ⁵⁸ The stem is apparently -xota-, seen also in: ixo'taxanan, I shall watch; yaxotai'yaxan, we shall look for. The xo- does not seem to be the negative. The suffix -wet is a continuative. Compare imu'mwet, I run continually; yema'wet, I eat constantly.
- ⁵⁹ If -wo- is the stem, this means to sit, as in i'wo, I sit; hi'wotinda, he sits. For -xun- see note 44. The ending is puzzling.
- ⁶⁰ Apparently a case of nominal incorporation, xarala-himat'ta, baby-he-finding. Another form for the noun was given as xalū'la.
- ⁶¹ Small is ulē'da. This is apparently run together in rapid speech with hima't'ta.
- ⁶² See note 57.
- ⁶³ Noun formed from the stem -am-, -ama-, to eat.
- ⁶⁴ The usual form would be ha'ma. The pronominal prefix of the third person is however quite frequently omitted. The final -t here and in other cases does not occur in the paradigms of verbal forms secured.
- ⁶⁵ From puntsar, woman. The suffix -la occurs in many names of animals and of relations, the form here being probably puntsalla, the interchange or equality of r and l being clearly marked in many words.
- ⁶⁶ See note 59.
- ⁶⁷ Derived from the demonstrative stem pa-. Other derivatives are seen in pāteea'mku, something; pātei, what; pā'teigun, no. The suffix -gun, -gut is the negative.
- ⁶⁸ Probably for xoku'litea. Cf. teima'rtea, we are men, Chimarikos.
- ⁶⁹ The stem -pa- occurs also in ya'pateen, we stay with.
- ⁷⁰ The intensive suffix -op, -ot. Refers to the particular man previously spoken of.
- ⁷¹ The stem is apparently -pū-, to shoot. The xa- may be the negative, in the sense of not shooting, i.e., stalking, hunting, I stalk game being given as yexapō'unu. The same prefix (?) occurs apparently also in nexadu'mxu, cook, boil it!
- ⁷² The usual word for boy is itri'la. This same stem appears again in ōwe'lūla, bachelor.
- ⁷³ From eta, many, with future suffix and final -t.
- ⁷⁴ See note 70.
- ⁷⁵ Literally "man-becoming."
- ⁷⁶ The only comparable form is na'tap, sift!
- ⁷⁷ Elsewhere the stem ame- means hungry.
- ⁷⁸ Perhaps connected with eta, many.
- ⁷⁹ The stem is -samxu-. Cf. isa'mxuni, I dance; misa'mxuni, you dance.
- ⁸⁰ The more common stem is -wentso: hiwe'mtson, he gambles.
- ⁸¹ In the paradigms secured, this is given as owa'kni, or owa'ktinda.
- ⁸² The stem is -po- or -poi-. Cf. poi'mni, I sleep; pomu'yen, I am sleeping; poa'nmu, are you sleeping?
- ⁸³ See note 81.
- ⁸⁴ See note 69.
- ⁸⁵ See note 63.
- ⁸⁶ The stem is apparently -txa-. Cf. itxa'eni, I stop, cease.
- ⁸⁷ Negative. Cf. ma'mut maxa'mana, you are not eating; nā'teidut ya'xamanat, we are not eating.
- ⁸⁸ Derived from the stem qē-, to die.
- ⁸⁹ Compound form, from -wa-, -owa-, to go, and -mi'ina-, to wish.

FREE TRANSLATION.

Dog and Coyote were travelling eastwards. Dog said, "It is going to rain, it is going to blow. Hold tight to a live-oak tree." It blew, and Coyote was blown away. Dog stood there and called, "Come back, you shall be strong." Coyote did not wish to, for he was angry with dog. The latter said, "Let us fight," but Coyote declined. After some discussion they agreed to travel about, and get married. A flood was coming on, in which they believed they would be drowned, so they tried to make a metal(?) house, but it fell down. Water came, it rained and snowed, and all people were starved and lost. Frog was floating in a canoe, and Otter and Mink floated on the water. Frog found the rib of one of those who had been drowned. At sunset it became a baby, which was put in a basket. The girl baby grew up, and married Frog(?), and to them a child, a boy was born, and by and by there were many people. There was an abundance of food then, and people went about eating and dancing, and living as they do now.

III. THE UNSUCCESSFUL HUNTER.

ěxapū'umut ¹	hako'nwadukta ²	hī'teip	himai'dukta ³
He hunted	he didn't kill	his thigh	he carried back
hutrīnē'u ⁴	imai'dukta	tea'koasun ⁵	ā'a kogutxu'kni ⁶
intestines	he brought back	I'm good hunter	deer you don't like me
ī'trirok ⁷	aqā' ya'aye ⁸	pu'ntsarop	yatcaxi'sxun ⁹ wisē'da
that man	water I go for	that woman	they ran off down river
awa'tmun	axā'wayaguktcainan ¹¹	ěwō'mut ¹²	ī'trirop
went	did not want to come back	he cried	that man
kuto'kkutcai'dananda ¹³	teūm ¹⁴	teūm	tcisi't hateisē'nda ¹⁵
never coming back	(?)	(?)	I said not following
ěwō'maminda ¹⁶	ī'trirop	ī'trirop	ěwō'munda pu'ntsarop
still crying	that man	that man	crying that woman
xomi''inanan	xowa'mgutcai'danan	uwi'r	ya'pateen ¹⁷ uwi'r
I don't like	I do not wish to go	(?)	we stay (?)
ya'pa'en	xowa'mgutcainan	yowa'manda	xo'wadumgutcai'nan
we stay with	don't want to go	I going	don't want to go home again
awa'mai	yā'pat	hisi'k	tcutexē'mun
(?)	(?)	good	(?)
xowa'mgutcai'nan	teugu'tcen	xomai'muktcainan ¹⁸	hī'midanda ¹⁹
I don't want to go	I don't want to	I don't want to carry	it is heavy
texalē'gu ²⁰	imai'momen ²¹	xuxodakteai'nan ²²	xugonakteai'nan ²³
light-not	I carry	I don't want to watch	I won't talk to you

teudi'ineman (?)	teupi'tan ²⁴ my foot is sore	xowa'mgutcainan I don't want to go	
moxoligě'ěūni ²⁵ you are no good	teū'itexēmun ²⁶ I drag away (?)	xowa'mgutcainan I don't want to go	teumai'idan I carrying
teuwa'xyen (?)	ěxě'u shell	itexū'Enan ²⁷ I like	yexō'yexanan ²⁸ I'll go and swim
imi'inan ²⁹ I like	trā'wel trout	ūlě'teida little	heteč'tcōi suckers
yeko'oxan I'll kill	ameqe'ēda ³⁰ dying of hunger	ye'man let's eat	xatei'la children
xěma'non ³¹ I am not eating	lū'in ³² I drink	lūmi'ginā'ye don't you drink	naupi' (?)
ni'maqai roast it!	nitexu'cki put it in fire	nō'mux ³³ fix it!	nima'qai roast it!
yě'man let's eat	mūkūwa'tkunat ³⁴ you did not come	ice'mdamdan ³⁵ I have been listening	yěxadumxodě'u I cook soup
nā'ma eat!	xēmakteai'nan I don't want to eat	tcu'xoda'mdan you look at me	pohmu'mdan ³⁶ sleeping
xama'nan not eating	qō'ma grass-seed	aqā'deu grass-seed	komatrā'Eni yellow daisy
tcī'ntcei sunflower-seed	tcexā'ma a sort of flower	kowateu'mxu (?)	pě'tsoneu (?)
			yemo'rna (?)

NOTES.

¹ See note 71, text II.² The stem is -ko-, to kill. Cf. yeko'xanan, I shall kill you. The suffix -duk is uncertain. Cf. xowa'doknanda, he didn't come back; itexu'tduxta, I hide it away. See following note and note 6, text I.³ Possibly a case of nominal incorporation, from (hī)tcipe, thigh and himai'dukta, carrying back. Cf. nimai'mu, you carry it! imai'muxan, I'll carry it.⁴ A nominal form in -eu, formed from a stem -tri- (?) of unknown meaning.⁵ Apparently from -ko-, to kill. This form is obscure, as the pronominal suffix tea- is not elsewhere used as subject of a transitive verb, but as object. Cf. pā'ut tea'kotinda, he kills me. The use of -sun which elsewhere has the force of the auxiliary verb "to be," is also unusual.⁶ The prefix ko- is probably the negative.⁷ Probably for i'trirop.⁸ The stem is -a- (Cf. -wa-, -owa-). See note 1, text I.⁹ The stem is -tcaxis-. Generally used as the plural for "to run," another stem, -mum- being used in the singular.¹⁰ Probably from -wa-, -owa- to go. The suffix is undoubtedly -mu-ni, upwards, the -ni being the present tense ending.

¹¹ The stem seems to be -wa-, with the negative prefix. The usual form of the ending is -gutcainan.

¹² From -wo-, to cry, weep.

¹³ Obscure. There is no stem clear, -tok- being elsewhere always united with some regular verbal stem, sometimes with the meaning of back, returning. Perhaps abbreviated in rapid diction from xowato'k-gutcaidananda.

¹⁴ There is a stem -tcu- which means "to sleep." Cf. yetcu'yegon, I shall sleep. Another stem -tcum- has the meaning of "to marry." Cf. yetcu'mdaxanan, I shall get married.

¹⁵ The usual stem for "to follow" is -sim-. Cf. yusi'm, I follow, go with; mexasi'mnatexun, do not follow me!

¹⁶ See note 12.

¹⁷ See note 69, text II.

¹⁸ The stem is -mai-. The suffix -mu is uncertain, although it apparently indicates direction of motion.

¹⁹ The stem appears to be -mi-.

²⁰ The suffix -gu here appears also in such forms as xanī'gu, by and by; curaigu, some time ago. It is probably the negative affix.

²¹ See note 18.

²² This is apparently xu-xo-da-k-teai-nan. There seems to be a reduplication of the negative prefix, but other examples occur, where -xota- as a stem means simply to watch, observe, as ixō'tanhun, I watch; ixō'taxanan, I shall look at. Ta- alone has no meaning applicable here.

²³ The stem is -go- or -go'na-. Other examples are negō'ēna, talk to me!; igō'ēnegon, I'll talk to you.

²⁴ Doubtful. The possessive prefix of the first person singular is evident, but the remainder of the word is not clear. The stem for "foot" is elsewhere always -po-.

²⁵ The stem here is clearly -xoli-, or -xuli-, meaning bad. Other examples are teo'xoligni, I am bad; qoxoyē'uteeyi, are ye bad; xuli'da, he is bad; xūli mā'takni, you sing poorly. The suffix -eu may be that used to form nouns from verbs, so that the form here would be "you are a bad-one."

²⁶ Apparently tcu-ite-xē-mun. The stem -xē- occurs also in niēxō'xē sweep! The prefix tcu- is a very common one, and seems to be similar in its meaning to t- or to-, meaning with the hands, or by force. Other instances of its use are ni-te-xe-tpik, pull out nail; ni-te-xa-lo, pull out tooth; nu-te-oru-ha, reach up for, etc., etc.

²⁷ The stem is -texu- or -texuē-. Other instances of its use are ya'texūnan, I wish, want (to eat); mitexū'una, you wish, want.

²⁸ The stem is -xū-, as in ixū, I swim; nixū'yaxana, shall you swim? What seems to be the same stem however is used with several other meanings, as: tcoxū'xanan, I shall blow away; noxū', whistle!; teō'xun, I am fat; qā'xunda, ye are fat, etc. In this latter case, the u is generally short however, but it is certainly long in the other cases.

²⁹ The stem is -mi'ina-. Other examples are: xomi'inanan, I don't like you; mexemi'inanan, you don't like me. Cf. teudi'ineman above.

³⁰ Probably ame-qē-da, I am dying of hunger. See note 45, text II.

³¹ See note 87, text II.

³² The stem is lu-. Cf. lūmi'ginaye.

³³ See note 36, text II.

³⁴ Perhaps for mu-ku-wa-tok-gu-nat with the negative affix repeated.

³⁵ The stem is apparently -cem-. See note 10, text IV.

³⁶ See note 82, text II.

FREE TRANSLATION.

A man went out to hunt, but secured nothing. So he carried back his thigh and his intestines, saying, "I am a good hunter." His wives suspected, and did not like him. They said, "We will get some water." Then they ran away. (The remainder seems to be wholly unconnected, my informant maundering on until she was tired.)

IV. THE THEFT OF FIRE.

Waida	howamda	apëxadjit ¹	teitindosa	xâteile	pun
Eastwards	he went	fire-steal	Coyote	child	one
xëxadjit ²	teitindosa	mice'qe	himũ'kta	apisu'xta	yuwau'mia
he stole	Coyote	"mieceq"	running	fire throwing	I go
mice'qe	yaxate'ya	pa'teimam ³	itukmũsun ⁴	mice'qe	
"mieceq"	I steal	everything	I make	"mieceq"	
yuwau'mxanan	mice'qe	kimidjunũ'mdju ⁵	yowamxa'nan		
I shall go	"mieceq"	to the head of the river	I'll go		
yuwaumxa'nan	wisë'da	puntsa'r	ë'tasun	mice'qe	ã'ma
I'll go	down river	woman	many are	"mieceq"	place
yuwaupa'kasun	mice'qe	a'ma	pun	xõ'nasun ⁶	mice'qe
I go around	"mieceq"	place	one	I'll not	"mieceq"
lurë'djasun	xu'mde	teitindõ'sa	teusato'mun	qã'qatee	
quick	(?)	Coyote	I choke	a bird	
nũ'wam	teusato'Emun ⁷	tcë'tcë	nũ'wam	teusato'Emun	
go!	I'm choking	Buzzard	go!	I'm choking	
yekoxa'nan	nã'teidut	ã'wam	iwa'mdaxanan ⁸	xë'qoqtëainan	
I'll kill you	we	go	I'll stay	I won't kill him	
tei'marut	që'sop ⁹	xu'nogidji	mice'qe	nagi'tcuk	ice'mtina ¹⁰
people	if die	I'll get well (?)	"mieceq"	(?)	listening (?)
imitcei'gut ¹¹	wë'lmu	mice'qe	yowa'mxanan	mice'qe	
I kiek it open	quickly	"mieceq"	I'll go	"mieceq"	
teũ'sigasun ¹²	mice'qe	yë'koxanan	mice'qe	më'xemi'inanan	
I'm handsome	"mieceq"	I'll kill	"mieceq"	you don't like me	
mice'qe	megutxu'kni	xũwo'këainan	hamë'u	i'teiknan ¹³	
"mieceq"	you don't like me	I don't want to come back	food	not growing	
hamë'u	pã'teigun	hamë'u	idan	mitexũ'na ¹⁴	mowa'mxana
food	none	food	(?)	do you like	you shall go
xusi'mkuktcainan	teũgu'teen	iwo'mdaxanan	teusi'mxanan		
I don't want to follow	I don't want to	I'll stay	me shall follow		

teūgu'tcentama I don't want	hē'wu all right	ā'man place	xateilē'gulan children only	
cū'nūhulaigulan old woman only	itrē'igulan men only	xateilē'gulan children only	xotxā'gutcainan I don't want to stop	
itrē'igukteaidanan (?)	ī'nadaxan I'll wait	ī'woxanan ¹⁵ I'll stay	xowā'xgutcainan I won't go off	
itricuxai'dēu ¹⁶ I'm a chief	teoxogō'anatan ¹⁷ they don't talk to me	xowo'kteainan I don't want to return	yowa'mxanan I'll go	
ī'woxantin I'll stay	iwā'togegon I'm coming back	yē'teuyegon ¹⁸ I shall sleep	īwo'mtegon I'll stay	iwau'tegon I'll come
yuwā'togegon I'm coming back	qèdèègon ¹⁹ will pay (?)	xowā'toknop I may not return	isumda'mdegon ²⁰ I'll seek (?) you	
mowā'tokatexun ²¹ you better all return	miwo'mtohon ²² you stay		yuwau'gegon I'll go	
mē'īnada'mdatekun do ye wait for me	misamda'mdatekun do ye all listen		mē'īnadē'atekun ²³ do ye wait for me	
ye'teudamdegon I'll lie down	mowau'gatekun ye all return	yowā'tokegon I'll return	yēāxtē'ēgon I'll get lost	
igo'na'mdegon I'll talk to them	tcima'r people	imamdē'ēgon I shall see	ixota'mdegon I shall watch	
xowā'toknegon I'll not come back	yuwamxa'nan I'll go	amemtū'ini I'm hungry	ulū'idaitee my brother	
yowā'mxanan I'll go	mèkōi'tee brother-in-law	yowā'mxanan I'll go	yūwo'kegon I'll return	
yuwā'tokegon I'll return	imi'īnan I like you	yuwawu'mxanan I'm going home	yēuyē'ke'ēgon (?)	
mowā'mxanan are you going	teo'kehen (?)	yā'patmamda we'll sit	axamgutcai'danan ²⁴ don't want to go	
xa'teicenta all lazy	pola alone	yuwa'mxanan I'll go	xotai'retee three	awa'mxanan will go
husamutni ²⁵ he stays	yekoi'yaxanan I'll kill	teugu'tcen I don't want to	pala'djesun I'm strong	
la'mipukni ²⁶ you are weak	pa'laidjè I'm strong	yuwa'mni I go	xokolē'tee two of us	awa'mxanan will go
iwo'mdaxanan I shall stay	nūgūwa'mna don't go!	niwo'mta stay	isu'mdan I look for	
iko'modaxanan ²⁷ I'm going to talk	mo'xogoanan don't you talk	niya'tcima laugh!	mamē'ini (?)	niko'moda talk!

nūwau'm	nixo'ta	mugu'teen ²⁸	yowa'tokxanan		
go back!	look at me	you don't want to	I'm coming back		
miwomdatexun	mowa'mkunaxana	po'mōxana	micè'mxana		
you stay	aren't you coming back?	shall you sleep	you'll listen		
po'la	iwa'megonye	xokolè'tee	awa'mxanan	xā'rale	nikì'da
alone	I shall go	two of us	will go	child	carry
mugu'teen	ni'ceheda ²⁹	trē'ūlot ³⁰	nicehe'm	xai'rot ³¹	
you don't want to	take it	that big one	take it!	that little one	
nikì'da	yowa'mxanan	niceheda	po'la	iwomtē'ēgon	
carry!	I'll go	take it!	alone	I'll stay	
nuwa'mhini	teugu'teen	nōwa'man	ameqè'ēni	nohâ'tamda ³²	
go on!	I don't want to	go!	I'm dying of hunger	look at me!	
nitcu'kta ³³	teugu'teen	nowa'mhini	xowa'mgutecainan	hī'yē	
take it (?)	I don't want to	go on!	I don't want to go	(?)	
tce'pini	nateū'da	nā'xaman	hamē'u	muputē'tceaxini	
(?)	lie down!	don't eat!	food	you are too lazy (?)	
ūtee'ndakēye	miwo'rhanage	mugu'teen	ā'wam	teugu'teen	
(?)	(?)	you don't want to	let's go	I don't want to	
teupi'tan	xowa'mgutecainan	teupi'tan ³⁴	ye'tupmoi	na'teidut	
my foot sore	I don't want to go	my foot sore	(?)	we	
nuhwè'aqi	yamai'ta	imai'ta	puntsa'r	itri	puntsa'riē
(?)	my place (?)	(?)	woman	man	wife
ulū'idaida	miko'modahanxani	yowa'mxanan	hisi'kni	xolè'ini	
sister	you will talk	I'm going	good	bad	
iko'modaxanan	yako'onēwa	mo'xoligositce ³⁵	micche'mxana		
I will talk	we are going to talk	you are no good	are you going to take him		
mowa'mxana	nūwa'man	xosi'mgutecai'nan	teugu'teen		
are you going	go on!	I don't want to follow	I don't want to		
xomi'inanan	qâqo'n	qō'ni	niko'muda	ko'omitexun	
I don't like you	you kill me	I cry out	I talk	you better cry out	
anō'tei	laibu'kni	poimu'yen	yahai'tea ³⁶	hè'u	awa'man
(?)	weak	I'm sleepy	let's get food	all right	we'll go
nā'teidut	xowa'mgutecai'nan	nowa'man	xowokteai'nan		
we	I don't want to go	go on!	I don't want to stay		
miteiumaxa'na	madaqa'na ³⁷	awa'm	yaxo'da	nisu'kta ³⁸	
(?)	you sing	let's go	we look	look back!	
himō'	aqe'mtuini ³⁹	lū'mixana	nuwā'gai ⁴⁰	yuwa'dkun ⁴¹	
yes	I'm thirsty	shall you drink	come on!	I'm coming	

ima'mni	lū'umitcèhin	tcí'rhatce	yuwa'man	iko'ktaxanan ⁴²
I see him	you drink	(?)	I'm going	I shall growl
iko'ktayexanan	mowa'mgunaqo'sexanan ⁴³			yuwa'mni
I'll go and growl	aren't you going to go?			I'm going
iko'mūtaxanan	iko'ktasun	qosamut	ye'woxanan ⁴⁴	
I shall talk	I always growl	you stay	I'll give you	
ma'musqo'sexana	hē'wu	mowa'mxana	ye'koaxanan	nō'nu
shall you give him too	yes	are you going	I'll kill him	don't
xō'mamgutcai'nan	nowa'man	iwo'mdaxanan	tri'rhatcen	
I don't want to see you	go on!	I'll stay	(?)	
nowa'm	teugu'tcen	ni'koxun	mala'	nuwa'm
go on!	I don't want to	cry out!	(?)	go on!
hēu	himō'	yes	yes	
miko'moda	yěēni	a'ta	magollai	ma'tri'i
you talk	(?)	(?)	uncle	nephew
matrici'	ulū'idai	mateco'lai	ma'la'i	muta'lai
nephew	brother	grandmother	maternal sister	mother's sister
himo'lai	a'ntxasai	xā'wilai	ulū'idaxaiye	mitci'nlūlai
father's sister's child	older sister	paternal grandfather	younger sister	(?)

NOTES.

¹ Apparently nominal incorporation. Cf. apisu'xta, below.

² The usual third personal prefix is here strengthened to x-.

³ Cf. patci, what; patcea'mku, something; patcigun, no, none.

⁴ See note 36, text II. The prefix tu- seems to mean actions done with hands. The stem is puzzling. In several cases, -kmu- seems to mean "to roll," as nimitci'kmu, roll with foot; niē'kmu, roll with end of stick; nime'kmu, roll with head. There is a common suffix, however, -mu, which seems to have somewhat variable directive meaning and function, as nai'mu, chop; mise'kmu, swallow; ipe'nmu, I lick; iya'tmunip, I lay down a flat thing. If -k- is the stem, its meaning is general, as we have niteu'ktean, drive nail; nū'kmak, comb hair, etc.

⁵ Probably a place name.

⁶ Perhaps related to inam, I touch. Cf. inadaxan, page 350, third line of text.

⁷ The stem is -satoE-. The meaning is said to be choking because of rapid motion.

⁸ The stem is -wam-, -wom-.

⁹ Conditional suffix.

¹⁰ Apparently first person. The stem is -cem-.

¹¹ The prefix mitci- meaning actions with the foot. The stem does not occur elsewhere.

¹² The stem is apparently -siga-. Cf. misigā'sun, you are handsome.

¹³ The stem here, -itci- apparently is the same as -itri-. See note 75, text II.

¹⁴ See note 27, text III.

¹⁵ The *m* of *-wom-* seems to have disappeared here.

¹⁶ Chief is *itrixaidēu*. The pronominal element here is inserted apparently into the structure of the noun, which may perhaps be analyzed as *itri*, men, *-xai-*, stem for to make, create, and the suffix *-ēu* which usually forms nouns from verbs.

¹⁷ The stem is *-go-* or *-go'na-*. Cf. note 23, text III.

¹⁸ The stem is *-teu-*. Cf. *yaxuteu'ixan*, we shall not sleep; *yetcuda'm-degon*, I shall lie down, sleep.

¹⁹ Cf. *idai'goxan*, I shall pay; *teadai'gunip*, we pay.

²⁰ Cf. *isu'mni*, I follow. The suffix (?) *-dam* occurs also in such forms as *meinada'mda*, you look for me; *yetcu'damdegon*, I'll lie down.

²¹ The suffix *-ate* seems to denote plurality. Cf. *nateidut* = (?) *noatei-dut*.

²² Probably for *miwo'mtaxan*.

²³ The stem is apparently *-inada*.

²⁴ The usual form is *xowamguteaidanan*.

²⁵ Cf. *i'samutni*, I come back; *ya'samuta*, we come back.

²⁶ Apparently a case of infixing the pronominal element. Cf. *la'teipukni*, I am weak.

²⁷ The stem here is clearly the same as in the next word. It is tempting to regard the *-mo* as perhaps an incorporated second personal objective element, but there are no other cases to support this view. Cf. *nikomoda*, talk, speak!

²⁸ See note 14, text II.

²⁹ The stem is apparently *-cehe-*. See next line.

³⁰ Shows the use of the intensive suffix *-ot*, with an adjective.

³¹ Perhaps related to *xara'li*, *xarū'la*, baby.

³² Elsewhere *-xotam-*.

³³ The stem *-teuk-*, or what appears to be but one such stem, has many meanings. As *iteu'ktamnip*, I put down a round thing; *niteu'ktean*, drive a nail; *teuiteu'kni*, I drown; *niteu'klo*, pull off button. See note 34, text II.

³⁴ See note 55, text II.

³⁵ See note 25, text III.

³⁶ The stem *-hai-* elsewhere has the meaning of to spit, to vomit.

³⁷ The stem is *-tak-*. Cf. *yetakni*, I sing; *ya'tak*, we sing.

³⁸ This stem does not occur elsewhere. To throw is *-sux-*.

³⁹ Cf. *ame'mtuini*, I am hungry.

⁴⁰ Perhaps for *-wauk-* contracted from *-watok-*.

⁴¹ Perhaps for *yuwa'tokun*.

⁴² By "growling" was meant, it was explained, "talking big."

⁴³ The suffix *-qose* apparently means "also, too."

⁴⁴ Meaning doubtful. The stem *-wo-* elsewhere means to cry, whereas *-wo-* is the form used in the singular for "to sit."

FREE TRANSLATION.

Coyote went eastwards to steal fire. There was one child only of the owner at home. Coyote stole the fire, and ran off down river, where there were many women. He ran so fast that he choked, then surrendered the brand to a bird, who did likewise, giving it up to the Buzzard. (The latter portion of this tale also is apparently extremely confused, and it seems impossible to make any connected sense out of it.)

V. A MYTH.¹³

nisè'it ¹	iwot ²	māta	hī'wot ²	atcalaitañ	hiwot ²
North	lived	sweathouse	lived	with his grandmother	lived
ōwatgu't ³	ōā'mta ⁴	owa'temut	owa'mdawā'temut	bādji'mdu ⁵	
started	went	went up	went up-stream	what for	
īmāmātcimi ⁶	waituamtuwatmut	bā'tcikitei ⁷	owatmut		
have you come?	come back	come back	went		
wā'ita ⁸	ī'tusait	iwo't ²	uwā'wuktan	teimar	īda't ⁹
west	where his sister	lived	you must talk	people	many
ēicimit'nī'	cā'ikī'et ¹⁰	hoxada'ktca'nat ¹¹	tsusutāiik-è'et		
come to see the dance	I am ashamed	I don't want to watch	do not be ashamed		
xè'manat ¹²	nimamic ¹³	hoca'ñkunit ¹⁴	hōtcapunat ¹⁵	yuā'mta ¹⁶	
I do not eat (?)	(?)	not dance	I know nothing	arrived	
bo'unmut ¹⁷	èqū'ictan ¹⁸	a'maniku'mkiyat	nī'tcaho'dat ¹⁹		
slept	what do you say?	you act foolishly	have you sense?		
xa'nimnosainoxosā'n ²⁰	lū'it ²¹	īdji'tmit ²²	yāca'mkunit ²³		
do you know what you do?	drink	I sit on one side	that is why I dance		
yasā'mta ²⁴	i'djitmi	nāxama'nan ²⁵	qòsi'n ²⁶	imica'ñkunit ²⁷	
thus I do	I sit	do not eat	how	did you dance?	
nòxopi'mni ²⁸	mā'ikī'et ¹⁰	ā'manot ²⁹	yuwa'tmun ³⁰	nòt ³¹	ī'qorok ³²
do not play	are you ashamed?	recently	I came	I	my language
mī'qot ³³	mīdjapū ¹⁵	mīqowē'g'an ³⁴	xo'lik	maliniqo'nag'an ³⁵	
you speak	do you know	you will always talk that	bad	you will always	have to talk
aqō'sit	ē'wanmu ³⁶	ō'u'xaik-ē'nan ¹⁰	bā'teamni ³⁷		
why	do you cry?		you are no good		
nò'xojimta ³⁸	īqo'iorot ³²	dīra'mda	qè'g'edatei	djèwu	imamni ³⁹
you do not know		long ago	pray	large	look for
moxolikaxa'winta ⁴⁰	ba'dja ³⁷	muxā'inat ⁴¹	dīra'mda	mī'tcapu'ta ¹⁵	
two old men sat	nothing	made	long ago	you know	
ōtuntsa ⁴²		yāca'mkunaxan ²³	ēteut ⁴³		
feathers		we will dance	long		

¹³ Obtained in 1901 by Dr. A. L. Kroeber from Doctor Tom, the Chimariko informant mentioned below in connection with the vocabulary. While the thread of the story cannot be made out from the disjointed narrative, it evidently is a myth. Doctor Tom passes among the Indians as being more or less out of his mind. As he is old and knows practically no English, the translation had to be given by him in the Hupa language, with which Dr. Kroeber is unacquainted, and translated into English by a Hupa. While loose, it is however shown to be approximately correct by the analysis that can be made of many forms.

yāxo'taxan ⁴⁴	mukice'ta ⁴⁵	onienema'ri	naijidi'ji'tmin ⁴⁶	
we will see	you do not wish to go	once more we must go	then they stay	
yūpqa'radjimni	ixo'taxanen ⁴⁷	pā'teuyāma ⁴⁸	ba'tea	
I get up now	I will see him	what will we eat?	what	
qo'tsesekesa'inen	yacamkunit	nāecia'racimni	bā'ikinaesan	
must we do?	we dance	I must stretch myself	I will dance about	
hō'tceu yūtiwiē'ni	nimiina't ⁴⁹	xo'miinana'n ⁴⁹	nē'g'ada'txumū'i	
fall in water	you like	I do not like	yourself	
wē'yit	imitsamā'kot	nā'pāata	mutsuñita	nīcīkio't ⁵⁰
dance	hold!	me (?)	surpassed	make a fire!
īxota'x ⁴⁷	īmā'm ³⁹	qòsni'ni ²⁶	lādjin ⁵¹	xèpakī'n
let me look!	I see	how	I am tired	I am dizzy
īx'otan ⁵³	hini'	ixotēmdjukehē'n ⁵⁴	e'g'cta	teimexā'ita ⁵⁵
		do not care to look		you make
nitxā'xana ⁵⁶	lā'djin	qòsi'ni	mica'ñkunit ⁵⁷	īwonhi'ni ⁵⁸
stop!	tired	how	you will dance	I stay here
xō'sini	qò'sini	lāwitama ⁵¹	eiraku ⁵⁹	mū'amta ⁶⁰
		what makes you tired	already	you start
nāmaū'iteiwun	nuā'mdat ⁶²	nā'ciā'telā'axanan	ya'apu'tmin	
you will eat	you must go	you must take it in	go home	
ā'manidja'pūi ⁶³	niteō'u ⁶⁴	qò'sin	niteō'u	teī'sagkun ⁶⁵
you know	stretch yourself	how	you stretch	I am exhausted
dāwuxton	yūtsu'nta ⁶⁷	djuklū'uxut ⁶⁸	lādjidā'mda ⁶⁹	eicā'mkuni
do not	jump in	jump in	become tired	I dance
lā'djin	yē'matsisin	miiteā'exotax ⁷⁰	nupu'o	ā'wamtu ⁷¹
tired	I want to eat	look at it	what for?	with mouth
mikot ³³	xa'ni	mikoxa'nat ⁷²	naā'wutbimni ⁷³	yuaka'nat
you talk	by and by	you will talk	we must play	
nācibi'mdaxanan ⁷³	ōtsumni ⁶⁷	nāmāata(n)hèi	nā'icukudjhen ⁷⁴	
we must play	jump in	do you pick berries	do not want to	
nū'tsuxunmu ⁷⁵	nitxa'nemaexa ⁷⁶	nīciē'i	nacbā'teikum ⁷⁷	
jump into the ground	your knees	are sore	I do not want	
ī'xotama'ri	bī'maranū'texō	ā'tcawē'it	ni'wekdapmu ⁷⁸	qocum
I want to see you	mash it	are you afraid?	bring him out!	how
tsi'rokon ⁷⁹	ī'mamni	e'xaini'	no'ot	qē'xeta ⁸⁰
did I talk	I see	I make	I	I make
				I see
teē'mta ⁸¹	ixo'tat	ica'mxu'nit	gū'uteēet ⁸²	hēmā'itat ⁸³
always	I see	I dance	do not want to	carry him
				soon

hīmèn⁸⁵ hī'mitci'lateila⁸⁵ ā'si'n⁸⁶ xō'djabutnat⁸⁷ mī'sik-e'è'i⁸⁸
 dark middle of night day do not know make right
 mī'qoxanat⁷² naxaik'ēna⁸⁹ miatci'matakxu'n⁹⁰ mō'xoci'nta⁹¹
 you will talk do not be ashamed might laugh at you if you do not know
 niice'x nā'maxanat⁹² nī'icēx· niā'i nidè'ek nā'witmi⁹³
 want you will see want blind let me look lie down!
 nā'p'ha⁹⁴ yuwō'mni⁹⁵ teupa'i⁹⁶ itsawi'sen djōoqi'n
 get him up! I am going home my feet are sore do not wish
 maxā'ikun⁹⁷ hātcuutan⁹⁸ nimama hā'tcadarup⁹⁹ uā'mxanat¹⁰⁰
 make it! lies there you see it surely will go
 yè'wetdaxana'e nā'sieta'mxanan¹⁰¹ lā'mitamakun⁵¹ hī'tat⁹
 I shall catch him it will be day tired many
 ē'icamkunit¹⁰² ilā'djin⁵¹ ā'mimtū'ita¹⁰³ badji maxā'ia
 I dance tired I am hungry nothing you can make
 qō'maie'xū'nun iisā'n yimā'mda wu'tsunat¹⁰⁴ katō'oxu'mii'nanan¹⁰⁵
 know I breathe I see I am not sick I do not like you
 gaik'ī'ektean¹⁰⁶
 how do you know?

NOTES.

- 1 Perhaps for wisē-da, down-stream, *i.e.*, north.
- 2 -wo-, to sit, to stay. Cf. hīwotinda, he sits.
- 3 -wa-tok, -owa-tok, return(?). Cf. muku-watku-nat, you did not come, page 347, line 8 of text.
- 4 -wam-, -owam-, to go; -ta, participle.
- 5 patci, what; -mdu, instrumental.
- 6 -mat-, to find; -mamat-, alive. Cf. ma-i-mat-ni, I am alive.
- 7 Cf. ante, badji-mdu.
- 8 wai-da, west or up-stream.
- 9 Cf. ētasun, many.
- 10 e-, probably for te-, I; -aikie-, ashamed.
- 11 Cf. note 22, text III.
- 12 Cf. xemanon, page 347, line 6 of text.
- 13 Perhaps ni-, imperative, and -mam-, to see.
- 14 ho-, negative; -samxu-, to dance.
- 15 ho-, negative; teapu- probably -trahu-, to know.
- 16 Cf. note 4.
- 17 -po-, to sleep. Cf. po-anmu, you sleep.
- 18 Probably -qu-, -ko-, -komo-, to talk; e- perhaps interrogative. Cf. i-mi-canku-nit, did you dance?; a-qōsit, why?; e-wanmu, do you cry?
- 19 Probably -teaho-, for -trahu-, to know. Cf. ante hoteapunat.
- 20 Perhaps xani, by and by;
- 21 -ju-, to drink. Cf. page 347, line 6 of text.
- 22 i-, I; -teit-, to sit; -mi, the verbal suffix, down; -t probably the intensive suffix, -ut, -ot, -t.

- ²³ ya-, we; -samxu-, to dance.
- ²⁴ Probably -sam-, to listen(?). Cf. mi-sam-damdatekun, page 350, line 8 of text.
- ²⁵ na-, second person imperative; x-, negative; -ama-, to eat; -nan, verbal suffix. Cf. xèmanat, ante line 6.
- ²⁶ Interrogative stem qo.
- ²⁷ i, perhaps interrogative. Cf. note 18.
- ²⁸ no, imperative; xo-, negative; -pim-, to play; -ni, suffix of present tense.
- ²⁹ Cf. aman-itri, young; aman-inhu, new. Perhaps also a'maniku'mkiyat ante, line 7.
- ³⁰ y-, for i-, I; -uwat-, -owat-, to come.
- ³¹ Contracted from nōut.
- ³² Evidently from the stem -ko-, -qo-, -go-, to speak. The form is obscure, as the possessive -i, my, is always suffixed.
- ³³ mi-, you; stem as in the previous word.
- ³⁴ mi-, you; -ko- to talk; -we, perhaps for -wet, continuative; -g'an for -xan, future.
- ³⁵ It is possible that the first portion of this word is the Wintun pronoun for the second person dual, malin. A Hupa word is inserted in the following text.
- ³⁶ Cf. ewo'imamni, I cry.
- ³⁷ Cf. pā'tceam-ku, something(nothing?).
- ³⁸ no-, imperative; xo-, negative; -ta, participle. The stem -jim-(teim) does not occur elsewhere in the material collected.
- ³⁹ i-, I; -mam-, to see; -ni, present tense.
- ⁴⁰ Obscure. -xoli, may be xuli, bad; xawin, old. Cf. note 25, text III.
- ⁴¹ mu-, you; -xai-, to make.
- ⁴² hu-tu, its feather.
- ⁴³ Cf. hiteun, long.
- ⁴⁴ ya-, we; -xota-, to see; -xan, future.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. -gutee-, -guteai-, do not wish, as in teu-guteen, I do not wish.
- ⁴⁶ na-, imperative; -jid-(teit) (reduplicated), to sit. So "do ye sit down one after the other"(?).
- ⁴⁷ i-, I; -xota-, to see; -xan, future.
- ⁴⁸ patei, what; y-, I; -ama-, to eat.
- ⁴⁹ ni, second person imperative; -mi'inan-, to like.
- ⁵⁰ -cikiot perhaps for -cekta-, to build fire.
- ⁵¹ la-, weak, tired; -tei, I; -in, incompleted action. In other instances, -mi, you.
- ⁵² -po-, to sleep; -xan, future. Cf. poimni, I sleep.
- ⁵³ Cf. ixota'x, line before.
- ⁵⁴ Cf. note 45.
- ⁵⁵ tei-, I; me-, actions done with hand(?); -xai-, to make; -ta, participle.
- ⁵⁶ ni-, second person imperative; -txa-, to stop; -xan, future.
- ⁵⁷ mi-, you; -samxu-, to dance. The phrase "how you will dance" seems to mean "thus you will always dance in the future."
- ⁵⁸ -won-, for -wom-, to stay.
- ⁵⁹ eiraku, euraigu, from cur-, long ago, and the negative -gu.
- ⁶⁰ mu-, you; -wam-, to go; -ta, participle.
- ⁶¹ Seems to contain the negative.
- ⁶² nu, second person imperative; -wam-, to go.

⁶³ Cf. note 29. Perhaps -pu is the interrogative suffix. Cf. mexadjipu, have you stolen?

⁶⁴ ni-, second person imperative; -teo-, cf. -teu-, to lie down, to sleep.

⁶⁵ tci-, I; -sag-, cf. -sax-, to cough(?).

⁶⁶ tea-, I; -awè-, angry; -ta, participle.

⁶⁷ -tsu-, -tsum-, -tsun-, to jump.

⁶⁸ dju-, teu-, I; -klu-, to fall.

⁶⁹ Cf. note 51. -dam is a verbal suffix of uncertain meaning in this case. Cf. mēinadamda, you look for me.

⁷⁰ Contains -xota-, to look, watch.

⁷¹ ha-wa, his mouth; -mdu, instrumental.

⁷² Or else from -ko-, to kill. Cf. ye-ko-xan-an, I'll kill you, text IV, line 9.

⁷³ -pim-, to play.

⁷⁴ Cf. teugutcen, I don't want to, text IV, line 15.

⁷⁵ nu-, second person imperative; -tsu-, to jump; -xun, verbal suffix meaning into; -mu, verbal suffix of uncertain meaning. Cf. naimu, chop; nitupmu, roll along, etc.

⁷⁶ hi-txanemaxa, his knee.

⁷⁷ Cf. pateigun, no.

⁷⁸ ni-, I; -whék-, to push; -tap, out of.

⁷⁹ Cf. iqorok, ante line 10.

⁸⁰ -xe-, for -xai-, to make.

⁸¹ tceem-da means "across a stream."

⁸² Cf. note 74.

⁸³ Perhaps he- is the negative, xe-; -mai-, to carry.

⁸⁴ xani, by and by, and -gu, the negative. Cf. note 59.

⁸⁵ himi, hime, himokni, night. The -n appears in hime-n-ala, moon.

⁸⁶ asi, asse, day. Cf. asi-n-ala, sun.

⁸⁷ xo-, negative; djabu- (teapu ante) for -trahu-, to know.

⁸⁸ hisikni, hisiki-, good; -eēi perhaps -eye, reflective.

⁸⁹ na-, second person imperative; x-, negative; -aikie-, ashamed.

⁹⁰ mi-, you, object; -yatei-, to laugh; -xun is either the future -xan, or the continuative -hun.

⁹¹ mo-, you; -xo, negative; -cim-, -cem-, to listen; -ta, participle.

⁹² n-, second person imperative; -ama-, to eat; -xan, future.

⁹³ na-, second person imperative; -mi-, -tmi, verbal suffix, down; -wi-, cf. hawi'ida, driv deer; ha-wi-maxan, poke hole in sheet of paper.

⁹⁴ n-, second person imperative; -ap-, to get off horse; -ha, up.

⁹⁵ y-, I; -owam-, to go.

⁹⁶ teu-, my; hu-po, his foot.

⁹⁷ ma-, perhaps for na-, second person imperative; -xai, to make.

⁹⁸ -teu-, to lie down, sleep.

⁹⁹ -up, intensive.

¹⁰⁰ -owam, to go; -xan, future; -at(?) for -ut, -ot, intensive.

¹⁰¹ asi, day; -xan, future.

¹⁰² ēi-, for i-, I.

¹⁰³ amenttu-, hungry; -i-, I; -ta, participle.

¹⁰⁴ The final -t, -at, probably the intensive -ut, -ot is of frequent occurrence.

¹⁰⁵ xu-, negative; -mi'ina-, to like; -nan, verbal suffix.

¹⁰⁶ -aikie-, ashamed.

VI.¹⁴

yè'ma ¹	i'waxanin ²	ē'koexanan ³	tei'miteakun	kolalai	yua'mni
I eat	I will defecate	I will urinate	enough	sick	I go
nīmā'ama ⁴	nidjidmaga'na ⁵	nīpā'itea ⁶	bā'teikū'	iei'enū'xni	i'sā'n ⁷
you see	say so	pick up	no	bring wood	sleepy
xa'nisama ⁸	xe'ma' ⁹	dji'txanak ¹⁰	hōsetdjanīwu'	nīmīna' ¹¹	hīsī'ktā ¹²
soon	head	blanket	sick	behind	good
hī'edāt	hīdjuknī ¹³	hī'djutbitan ¹⁴	nādja'ldan ¹⁵	nāxo'cxu ¹⁶	misā'gū ¹⁷
fall in	drown	a spring	rock	cut	put in mouth
nīsā'wkā	hītāi ¹⁸	kō'on ¹⁹	hitēiwāmda	nīxota ²⁰	muxu'lika ²¹
put in mouth	much	talk	go down	look!	say
nūakta ²²	xā'yē	djē'u ²³	miwū'	xumāmnan ²⁴	yacangxu'ni ²⁵
go'	small	large	give	do not see	let us dance
yāxu'tcu	nīci'nātē'i	nō'sexana'n ²⁶	nīmāma'	nācco	yōku'n
go to bed	cover me!	suckle me	look	make	basket
nē'wu	pā'dju ²⁷	nuwī'e ²⁸	xoda'la ²⁹	nītexē'm ³⁰	nītexē'ako ³⁰
give	enough	carry	little	drag!	stop!
mī'tcapu ³¹	hī'wana'dan	nā'k'o	badxa'la	nuxu'māmnan ²⁴	
chew	go on	see two	enough	not see	
yōkumramni'p ³²	mitexa'ni ³³	yēko'n ³⁴	tcāwī'n	mēxo'tan ³⁵	
run	small	kill	I fear	on	
yutsuxa'mni ³⁶	yuwā'wukne' ³⁷	bō'anmu ³⁸	nā'waxāii ³⁹	muxuliīni ⁴⁰	
fall down	I come back	you sleep	your mouth is small	you are ugly	
xā'se	hītema'	nīmama	nimaitee ⁴¹	yamat	imā'mta
grass (?)	cook	see		food	I see
nāot	xu'noīta ⁴²	nīntji ⁴³	ā'ma	īxā'ita	xo'se
I	go up	your nose	earth	I made	grass
exāini'p ⁴⁴	yē'kōn ³⁴	nājidi'li	nāxā ⁴⁵	huwa'm	xa'ni
I make	I kill	play flute!	stop	go	soon
lādjitamni	djo'pa-elo'ni ⁴⁶	elonehē'e ⁴⁶	nī'djitmi ⁴⁷	nītexē'mku ³⁰	
tired	too	hot	hot	sit down!	drag!
djemta	nuamatexun ⁴⁸	wēsatk!ā'se	yū'tsū'txamu ³⁶	hawalla ⁴⁹	
across river	go!	sleepy	fall down	who are you	
lā'mitama	nāmaexuni	xālālā'idji'ni	dīramda	dīramd	ua'kdat ⁵⁰
tired	around	go home	long ago	long ago	came

¹⁴ Part of a text obtained in the same way as the last.

hica'mniman ni'xota djè'wut²³ i'te'i'xni xunō'ita⁴² lūtsuktu'n³⁶
 not see you look! large play up fall in
 mū'adokni⁵¹ teigutxotne'i⁵² yēaxtu'n wètçè'o mīgāatexū'èn⁴⁸
 you come back lonely I return near leave
 nācuāmni' hitāi ko'on hūpuenēi⁵³ mēmamnēi'⁵⁴ mī'tcapu
 go away much talk his leg straight I see you you know
 nāma wè'lemū⁵⁵ èdjèenē'i nēma'iradjim⁵⁶ nètçexē'm nīçigyā't⁵⁷
 eat! quickly shoot carry! drag! make fire!
 nixa'ii tēā'xawinta⁵⁸ nī'mamxa'nat ētc'i'xta⁵⁹ koma namaxana't
 make it! I am old you will see grow seeds
 watcel nī'mamxanat koma hēcigu djīmia'na
 pepper-nuts you will see seeds hazel-nuts sarvice-berry
 haikyè'u hatchō'u hosiri'na⁶⁰
 sugar-pine-nuts digger pine-nuts cedar

NOTES.

- ¹ i-, I; -ama-, to eat.
- ² i-, I; hi-wax, his excrement; -xan, future; -in, incomplete action.
- ³ e-quc, his urine.
- ⁴ ni-, second person imperative; -mam-, to see.
- ⁵ ni-, second person imperative; -tcit-, to sit; -gan-, -xan, future.
- ⁶ ni, second person imperative; -pa-, perhaps -pa-, to smoke.
- ⁷ Cf. iisan, text V, next to last line.
- ⁸ xani, soon, by and by.
- ⁹ hi-ma, his head.
- ¹⁰ teitxa, blanket.
- ¹¹ Cf. himinatee, behind; hīminna, back.
- ¹² hisiki-, hisikni, good.
- ¹³ -teuk-, a stem of varied meaning. Cf. niteuktan, drive nail; niteuk-tapku, take out a round thing; iteukar, drowned; text I, line 7.
- ¹⁴ -teut, to strike(?); -pi, -tpi, suffix, out, out of.
- ¹⁵ Cf. tcaldan, metal.
- ¹⁶ Cf. tea-xos-amu, I yawn.
- ¹⁷ Cf. note 65, text V.
- ¹⁸ Cf. note 9, text V.
- ¹⁹ From -ko-, to speak.
- ²⁰ n-, second person imperative; -xota, to look, watch.
- ²¹ Cf. note 40, text V.
- ²² nu-, second person imperative; -wak-, to come; -ta, participle.
- ²³ djèu, tèu, trèu, large.
- ²⁴ xu-, negative; -mam-, see; -nan, verbal suffix.
- ²⁵ ya-, we; -samxu-, to dance; -ni, incompleting action.
- ²⁶ no-, second person imperative; -sex-, cf. -sek-, to swallow; -xan, future.
- ²⁷ Cf. pādju, grizzly-bear.
- ²⁸ nu-, second person imperative; -wi, cf. ha-wi'-ida, drive deer.

- ²⁹ xodallan, poor.
³⁰ Cf. teu-itexē-mun, page 347, line 2 of text.
³¹ mi-, you; -tea-, to chew; -pu, perhaps interrogative.
³² Cf.(?) nipe-ram-ram-, to taste.
³³ Cf.(?) ni-texa-lo, pull out tooth; itexa-posta, Dyer's ranch.
³⁴ ye-, I; -ko-, to kill; -n, incomplete action.
³⁵ mi-xota-n(?).
³⁶ -tsu, to jump. Cf. note 67, text V. But hu-tsu-tmin, fly down; -xam, suffix, down; -ni, incompleting action.
³⁷ y-, I; -owak, to come, here apparently reduplicated; -ne, -ni, incompleting action.
³⁸ Cf. note 17, text V.
³⁹ ha-wa, his mouth.
⁴⁰ mu-, you; -xuli-, bad. Cf. note 21.
⁴¹ Cf. -mai-, to carry.
⁴² xunoi-da means west or north.
⁴³ A Hupa word. The Chimariko would be mo-xu.
⁴⁴ e-, for i-, I; -xai-, to make; -ni, incompleting action; -p, intensive.
⁴⁵ Cf. i-txa-Eni, I stop.
⁴⁶ elox-ni, elo-ta, hot.
⁴⁷ ni-, second person imperative; -teit-, to sit; -mì, suffix, down.
⁴⁸ Cf. mo-watok-atexun, page 350, line 7 of text.
⁴⁹ awilla, who.
⁵⁰ -wak-, to come; -da, participle; -t, intensive.
⁵¹ mu-, you; -atok-, -watok-, return; -ni, incompleting action.
⁵² Cf. teigule, we all. Or more probably, tei-, I; gu-, negative.
⁵³ hu-po, his leg.
⁵⁴ me-, for mi-, you; -mam-, to see; -nei, cf. preceding word, and, post, edjè-nèi.
⁵⁵ welmu, quickly.
⁵⁶ ne-, second person imperative; -mai-, to carry.
⁵⁷ ni, second person imperative; -cekta-, make fire.
⁵⁸ tea-, I; -xawi-ni, old; -ta, participle.
⁵⁹ Cf. -itri-, -itei-, to grow, a man.
⁶⁰ Cedar is hâtsinaktea; hosu, xosu is yellow-pine nut. The tree would be hosu-na.

SENTENCES.

puntsalot hamtatinda citecelot	woman whipped dog
puntsalot himiteitinda teimal	man kicked the woman
citecela hapukēini hemxolla	dog caught the jack-rabbit
mimiteitida citecela	you are kicking the dog
hipuimuktinda citecela	they are pinching the dog
imiteitinda	I am kicking him
memiteitida	you are kicking me
teumī'inatinda	he likes me
qonowectinda	ye are whipping me
imiteitxanan citecelot	I shall kick the dog
niteut citecela	hit the dog!

imamni	I see thee, him
imi'inanatein	I like ye
mepatni	you are poking me
tcumamni	he sees me
qomamapu	do ye see me
hiwotinda	he sits
miwemtsodida	you gamble
qatexundjulinda	ye are thin
qèwoktinda	he is sick
nout yematinda	I eat
teaxawintinda tcigule	we all are old
mamatindak	you ate
hisamxunin	he dances
yawemtsom	we gamble
mixun	you are fat
qaxatecuEni	ye are short
hama	he eats
imumni	I run
yetakni	I sing
haomiüktsaida	his hat
awaida	his house
onipaida	his pipe
qomas musuda	who are you
qomas asuda	who is he
patci suda	what is this
awilida mohatida	who shot you
puntsarida anowesta itrila	woman whipped boy
mitinda kutaxana	are you going to keep it?
ewomunda	still crying
imumda itxaEni	I stop running
imumda teohotimen	while running, he shot me
imamni haqomelamda	I saw him running, hurrying away
hisamxuninda yekon	while he was dancing, I killed him

VOCABULARY.

The following English-Chimariko and Chimariko-English vocabulary is based on the author's notes. To these are added materials from the following sources.

Words marked with an asterisk, *, are from Powers' Tribes of California, pages 474-477, slightly transcribed to conform to the present orthography. Those marked with a dagger, †, were obtained by the author, but are given in identical form by Powers, allowing for the fact that Powers does not distinguish k and q and writes no glottal catches.

Words in parentheses, (), were obtained by Dr. A. L. Kroeber from the informant Friday in 1902, and those in brackets, [], from Doctor Tom, an old feeble-minded Chimariko at Hupa, in 1901 and 1902. Many of the more common words, having been obtained by Dr. Kroeber in a form identical with that recorded by the writer, are not separately given.

Words marked with § were obtained by Dr. P. E. Goddard from Mrs. Noble, a daughter of Mrs. Dyer, in 1902. A considerable number of other words also obtained by Dr. Goddard, in a form identical with that recorded by Dr. Kroeber or the writer, are not specially marked.

ENGLISH-CHIMARIKO.

Abalone, sulhim	Aunt (maternal), mālai-i, mūtala-i
Abandon, -tax-	Autumn, asōdiwukni, nomateci*
Accompany, -sim-	Awl, eibui
Acorn, yūtri, (texupun)	Axe, haimuksa, hamukteu*
Acorn (black-oak), [(muni)]	Baby, xarūlla, xalūla, (xalala),
Acorn-bread, teēneu	halalla*
Acorn-meal (leached), pāci	Back, hi-mina
Acorn-meal (unleached), yōma	Bad, xuli, holi-ta*
Acorn-soaking place, mateciya	Bark (of tree), hi-pxadji,
Acorn-soup, hāpēu	hi-pateci*
Acorn (shelled), ihitci	To bark, wowoin
Across-stream, teem-da	Basket-hat, haōmiūksa
Again, (tabum)	(haamiaktea)
Alder, pakto'ēna	Basket (burden), sangen,
Alive, -mamat-	(cānkeen)
All, (kumitecin)†	Basket (cooking), poquela
Alone, pola	Basket (mortar), hā'eu
Angry, -awē-	Basket (open tray), powa
Ankle, hi-kxanlèdē, hi-txanlede	Basket (sifting), atanisuk
Ant (black), pēlo'a	Basket (spoon), kalūwēē
Ant (red), t'amitexul	Basket (storage), (opumaktea)
Antlers, ho-wec	Basket (tray), p'unna
Anus, hi-wi	Bat, teemxateila
Arm, hi-tanpu, [hi-teanpu],	Bachelor, puntsariēcku, ōēlūlla
hi-teanpo*	Beads (disk), mendrahē
Arm-pit, cilēiteūmuni	Bear (black), teisamra, (djicamla),
Armor, t'ummi	[djisamara], teisamrha*
Arrow, sa'a	Bear (grizzly), pādju, (potcu)
Arrow-flaker, ateibuksa	Beard, (hu-puteu-n-xame), [ha-
Arrow-point, qāku	budju-n-xami], o-putcun-hama*
Ashes, matripxa, matripa	Beaver, wisilla
Aunt (paternal), ulūida-i(ʔ)	Bed, hateiinarutsa
	Beetle, qō'a

Belly, hu-trunèu, (hu-teeneu), u-teuniwa*	Cheek, hu-tananundjatun
Belt, hi-ca'amatat	To chew, -teatei-
To bend, -koru-	Chief, itra-xai-dèu, itei-haitie*
Bird, (di'la), tirha*	Chimariko, (teimaliko)
Bitter, hemūdadjān	Chin, tsuna, wētū
Black, teclēi, teeli-t*	Chipmunk, pipila, wisilla(?)
Blackberry, xamoana	Civet-cat, kakesmilla*
Blackbird, tira-cela, tēila-teele	To clap hands, -putata
Blanket, teitxa	Clean, mata'i
To bleed, sōdrē-	To clear (weather), -teemux-
Blind, -sukxomen, -xosanmun	To climb, -ar-
Blood, sōtri, citrqi, sitsō*	Clock, ixodaktea
To blow, -hus-, -xuc-, -kos-, -xu-	Cloud, hawēdam, [āwetama], (awatamaxni)
Blue (?—cf. blood), sōtē'i	Clover, kâteu
Bluebird, ipūitella	Coals, kōwa
Bluejay, tsokokotce	Cold, eco-, (xatsa), eso-ta*
Board, ho'ēu	Comb, tanatei
To boil, -potpot-, -dum-	To comb, -kma-
Bone, hu-txun	To comb, -watok-, -wok-, -owak
Born, -dah-	To cough, -sax-
Bow, xāpunēu	Cousin, antxala-i
Boy, itrilla, iteila†	Country, ama
Brain, hi-ni	Coyote, teitindōsa, (maidjandela), [maidjandera]
To break, -kat-, -tcex-, -xōtōs-	Cradle, wenteu
Breast, hu-si*	Crane, kisum, kāsar
Breast (woman's), sī'lēye, sirha†, [ēida]	Cray-fish, trxol
To breathe, -saxut-	Crooked, p'qēlē'in
To bring, -hak-, -hek-	Crow, wa'da, wa'la
Brother, ulūida	To cry, -wo-
Brother-in-law, meku-i	Cup and ball, hiteumūdadehu
Buckeye, yonot	To cut, -kut-, -lolo-
Buckskin, teirhuntol	To dance, -samxu-
To burn, -hi-, -maa-	Daughter, masola-i, maisula-i*
To bury, -tot-	Daughter-in-law, teu-simda
Butterfly, tsamila	Day, assē,† [asi]
Button, hi-punaktea	Deaf, hukēnan
Buzzard, teētēi	Deep, teuxunmin (?)
By and by, punuslala, xani, tamini	Deer, ā'a, aa*
To call, -kō-, -kokō-	Deer (buck), (xuwetei)
Cane, hutatat	Deer (doe), (yeteawe)
Canoe, mūtumma, motuma*	Deer-brush, qapuna
To carry, -mai-, -ham-, -qi-, -xū-	Deer-trap, haxaktea
Caterpillar, xawin, qawin	To dent, -kxol-, -tran-
Cats-cradle, axādēu	Dentalia, hateidri, t'ōdōdōhi [(ahateu)]
Cedar, hātsinaktea, hātinaktsana	"Devil" (prob. sorcerer), himisanto, (himisamtu)
Chair, hi-woanadatsa	Dew, qoido
Chaparral, puktea'ēna, axaena	

To die, -qè-	Fat (adj.), -xu-
To dig, -po-, -tsik-	Father, iteila-i†
Digging-stick, tsunana	Father-in-law, teu-maku
To dip up, -hedo- (?)	Feather, hu-to, hi-mi†
Dirty, teelè'in	Fern, tètèuna
To dismount, -ap-	To fight, -texua-
Dog, citeella, sitcela†	To find, -mat-
Door, wéssa	Finger, hi-ta, hi-tra, (hi-tea), hi-teanka*
Dove, yūura	Finger-nail, bolaxot, (bulaxut)
Downwards, tranmida	Fir, kipi'ina, (kimpina)
Down stream, wisèda	Fire, ā'pu, apu*
To drag, -texè-	To make fire, -ceкта-, hatsir
Dragon-fly, hitcinemnem	Fire-drill, apū'ena, hātsiktea
To dream, -maka-	Fire-drill base, apū'natxui
To drink, lū-	Fire-place, akamina ā'pu
To drive, -sik-	Fish-line, hook, hamamēgutea
To drop, -lul-, -lus-, -lurim-	Fish-net, atexū
To drown, -teuk- (?)	Fish-trap, weir, tsāt
Drum, hisamquni	Fisher, qèpxamitecèi
Dry, atexumni	Five, tsānehe, tranēhē
Duck, xaxatecèi, hahatce* (= mallard)	To fix, -mu-
Dull, tono'i	Flat, river-bench, maitra
Dust, matcitsxol, matrepa	Flea, t'amina
Eagle, wemer, teāwitcau, (djāwidjau)	To float, -kim- (?)
Ear, hi-sam, hi-cam*	Floor, wèboqām
Earth, [ama]†	Flower, atrēi
Earthquake, amitexamut	Fly, mūsaswa, mūsotri, mosotce*
East, up stream, waida, (waida)	To fly, -tu-
To eat, -ama-, -ma-	Fog, āptum
Eddy, apenmaspoi	To follow, -sum-
Eel (lamprey), tsāwa	Food, hāmeu
Egg, anōqai, amoka*	Foot, hu-po†
Eight, xodaiteibum, hotaiteipum	Forehead, hi-mosni,† [hi-muelei]
Elder tree, teitexōi	To forget, -xomē-
Eleven, pundrāsut, saānpun punlasut	Four, qūigu, qōigu
Elk, ā'eno, aanok*	Fox, teiteamūlla, apxanteolla, haura*
Empty, hutcolanan	Friend, [imikot], imi-mut (= love)
Evening, himok*	Frog, qātus, (axanteibot)
Everything, patcimam (?)	Full, hitcolam
Excrement, hi-wax	To gamble, -wemtso-
Eye, hu-sot, hu-cot*	Girl, puntsūla, puntealla*
Eyebrow, hu-sotnimi	To give, -hak- (?) , awu-t*
Eyelashes, hu-sunsa	To go, -a-, -wam-, -waum-, -wawum-, -owa-
Face, hi-suma*	Good, hisikni, (hisiki-), hisi-ta*
To fall, -man-, -mo-, -klu-	Goose, lālo, lalo*
Fat (n), pī'a	Gooseberry, tselina

Gopher, yūmate	To jump, -tudu.
Grandfather (paternal), xāwila-i	To keep, -kut-
Grandson, himolla-i	To kick, -mitei- = with foot
Grass, hawunna, (āwuna), koteu*	To kill, -ko-
Grass-game, hēumakutea	King-fisher, tsādada
Grasshopper, tsatur, tsatul	Knee, hi-txanimaxa,
Grass-seed, qōmma	[hi-txanemaxa]
Green, himamto, (imameu),	To kneel, -komat- (?)
himamsu-t*	Knife, teisili, teididi, teeselli*
Grouse, himimiteēi	To know, -trahu-
To grow, -itri-	
	Ladder, ha'amputni
Hair, hi-ma†	Lake, teitaha
Hand, hi-ta, hi-tra, hi-tea*	Lame, hōakta-xolik
To hang, -kim-	Large, trēwu-t, (djewu), teeu-t*
Happy (?), teumidan	To laugh, -yatei-†
Hard, teaxi	Leaf, hi-taxai, tahalwi*
Hawk, yēkyēk, pētēxol	Left-hand, xuli-teni
Hazel, hecigo	Leg, hi-txan, hi-tal*
He, hamut	To lick, -pen-, -hen-
Head, hi-ma†	To lie on ground, -teu
To hear, -kē-	Light, texalēn
Heart, hu-sā'antēi, (hu-santēi),	Lightning, itekasēlxun,
u-santē*	hitkeselsel-ta*
Heavy (?), teumidan	To like, -mi'inan-
Heel, inōōktaš	To listen, -cem-
Hemlock, xutēxu	Liver (?), hu-ci. See breast
Here, this side of stream, kēntēuk	Lizard, taktēel
To hiccup, lē-	Lizard (red), hīminiduktša
To hide, -txat-	Log, sāmū
High, hitēūēni	Long, hitēun
To hit, -at-	Long ago, eul, eur, [diramda],
To hold, -imu-	(dīlamda)
Honey, hūwūanūkaiš	To lose, -liēxu-, lūlūxē-
Hornet, husū	Low, huteulan (?)
Hot, elo-, (eloxni), elo-ta*	
House, āwa†	Madrone, ētxolna, [hetxolna],
How long, far, qāiteu	(hetxolna)
How many, qātala	To make, -xai-
How often, qātramdun	Man, itri, itēi*
Humming-bird, qērektee, trēlekteēi	Many, much, ēta, (hitat), itat*
To be hungry, -ame-, -amēmtu-	Manzanita, teitecana, teitei
Hupa, person, hitēxū; place,	Manzanita-cider, teiteiaqai
hitēwāmai	Maple, trūpxadji'ina, ipxadji'ina
Hyampom people, maitroktada	To marry, -teum-
hitēuāmai	Marten, xunēri, qāpam
	To mash, -lot-
I, nōut	Meat (dried), pititēxun
Ice, hateen, atēi*	To meet, -hayaqom-
Intestines, hi-pxa	Milk, cīra, cī'ila
Into, xunōi(?)	Mink, hunēri (?)—see marten)

Mistletoe, hâkilasagam	Outside, himinatee(?)
Moccasin, pa, ipa†	Owl, teukutcei, hâra
Mole, tsabokor, xosanmu	Paddle, hiâsmaigutea
Moon, himen âlla,† [hîmi-n-ala]	“Pain,” qêhewa
Morning, himetasur, himetacus*	To paint, -poxolxol-
Morning-star, munoiêta	To pay, -daigu-
Mortar, kâ'a	Penis, hi-pel, [hi-bele]
Mosquito, tsêlêye	Pepper-wood, watcel
Moss, hikiina	Person, teimar,† teimal, [djimar], (teimal)
Mother, eido-i, sito-i*	Pestle, teesundan
Mother-in-law, teu-makosa	Pigeon, yanunûwa, yanunwa*
Mountain, awu,† aumiya, [âma]	To pinch, -puimuk-
Mountain-lion, teerâsmu, [teidasmu]	Pine (digger), hate'hô, hateo,Ena
Mouse, pusudr	Pine (sugar), haqêwinda
Mouth, ha-wa,† [ha-wa]	Pine (sugar, cones), (haqeu), [haikau]
Mud, lâdido	Pine (yellow), xôsu, hosu*
Narrow, xê'iren	Pipe, onipa†
Navel, ho-napu	Pitch, âno'a
Nest, hemut	To play, -pim-
Nephew, micaku-i, himolla-i	To poke, -pat-
Nest, hemut	Poor, xodalan
New, amaninhu	Potato (wild), sâwu, qâwal, â'asawi, sanna
Niece, himolla-i	To pour, -qo-
Night, hime, himokni, [hîmi]	Pretty, siga
Nine, punteigu	To pull, -texet-, -texa-
No, pâteigun, (pâteikun), patcut*	To push, -whek-
To nod, -pukim-, -pupul-	Quail (mountain), pisor, pisor
Noon, hîmoqanan	Quail (valley), qadakin pisor
North (west?), xunoida	Quickly, welmu welêni, luredja
Nose, ho-xu	Quiver, hâsusakta
Nowhere, amaidâteiku	Rabbit (cotton-tail), hîwinolam
Oak (black), mûne'Ena, (munena)	Rabbit (jack), hêmoxola, emoholla*
Oak (live, hepûitei'ina (hepeteina))	Raccoon, yêto'a, [yeteiwa]
Oak (poison), xaxecna	Rain, hîtak, itak-ta*
Oak (tan-bark), yûtxûina	Rainbow, trexanmatexû
Oak (white), yaqâna	Rat, patusu
Oats (wild), aqêdêu	Rattle (split), hêmuimektsa
Ocean, aquarêda, aka-teeta*	Rattle (cocoon), pâtexal
Old, xawini, hahawin-ta*	Rattlesnake, qâwu, kawu-tcane*
Old maid, itridûsku, amâlûlla	To recover, -nook-
Old man, itrincûlla	Red, wili'i, wili-t*
Old woman, cunhûlla	Redwood, mutumana
One, pun, p'un	To remember, -xutaxun-
Onion, sâpxi	Rich, hitam, -hada-
Orphan, teisumula	Right-hand, hisi-dêni
Otter, êxoiteci, [haiokwoitec]	

Ripe, hōmat	Six, p'unteibum, p'untepom
River, aqaqot	Skin, hi-pxadji
To roast, -maq-	Skirt (woman's), hiēkteandēu(?)
Robin, srito, cītra	ōxwai
Roe, hi-txaiyi	Skunk, pxicira, [pīcui]
To roll, -k-	Sky, teēmu†
Root, ātei	Slave, habukēdēu
Rope, atexundē	To sleep, -po-
Rough, nodaduhni	To slide, -sāp-, -sāpho-
Round, nolle	Sling, hi-mīgutca
To rub, -xiaxe-	To slip, -klu-
To run, -mum-	Slowly, xowēnila
Salmon, ūmul, omul*	Small, ulēta
Salmon (dog), (djeida)	Smoke, qē
Salmon (hook-bill), (bitcoqolmu)	To smoke, -pa-
Salmon (red), masomas	Smoke-hole, āpotcitpidaktea
Salmon (steelhead), (acotno-umul)	Smooth, lūyui
Salmon (summer), (umul-teani)	Snail, nixetai
Salmon (dried, crumbled), tsamma	Snake (king), mamusi
Salmon-river people, hūnomitcku	To sneeze, -nīnxu-
Salmon-trout, heetsama	To snore, -xātudu
Salt, aqi, aki*	Snow, hipūi, hipue*
Sand, amayāqa	Snowshoes, hipui ipa, panna
Sarvice-berry, teimiana	Soft, lo'oren
Saw, hi-uxigutca	Something, pāteeamkū
To say, -pa, -patci-	Son, oēlla-i, oalla-i*
Scorpion (?—see cray-fish), teisitcin, txol	Son-in-law, itcumda
To scowl, -suta-	Soot, nagotpi
To scrape, -xēdo-	Sour, qoiyōin
To scratch, -kirkir-, -xolgo-	South, qadaida
To see, -mam-	Spear, hāsunwedēu
To sell, -teiwa-	Spear (fish), hohankutēu, altar
Seven, xākuspom, qāqiepom	Spider, kwanpūteikta
Shadē, qatrāta	Spider-web, kō'okoda
To shake, -lueluc-	To spill, -qox-
Shallow, txodēhunmi	To spit, -haihu-
Shaman, teōwu, (teūu)	To split, -bis-
Sharp, cupui	Spoon, wēnaqalne, sāpxel
Shell, ēxēu	Spotted, lētretrē
Shell (conical), teanapa	A spring, cidūlla, (aqa-xatsa)
To shiver, -nini-	Spring, kisumatci, kicumatci*
To shoot, -pū-	Square, hoqatā'Eni
Short, xūitculan	To squeeze, -tei-
Shoulder, hi-ta	Squirrel (gray), akwēcur, [aknūtcut]
To sing, -tak-	Squirrel (ground), ta'ira
Sister (older), antxasa-i	To stand, -hoa-, -hā-
Sister-in-law, maxā-i	Star, munu, mono*
To sit, -teit-, -wo-, -pat-	Star (falling), munūtumni

To stay, -wo-, -wom-	Tongue, hi-pen†
To steal, -xadj-	To touch, -na-
Stepfather, matrída	Trail, hissa
To stink, -mitexu-	Tree, ât'a (?), atsa*
Stone, qā'a, kaa*	Trout, trāwel, (teawal)†
To stop, -txa-	Tump-line, himā'idan, kāsusū
Straight, hādohan	To twist, -pxel-
To strike, -teut-	Two, xoku, qāqū
Striped, qisōi, êxaduqisman	Uncle (m. or p.), magola-i
Strong, pala	Under, teumu(?), wisēs
Sturgeon, (umul-iteawa)	Unripe, xomanat
Sucker, hētespula	Up, (-tso, wiemu)
Summer, ahānmatei, ahenmatei*	Urine, e-que
Sun, alla,† ūlla, [asi-n-ala]	Vagina, e-qā
Sunflower-seed, teintcēi	Valley, hitexāeni (?), maitciteam*
Sunrise, êxatatkun	Village, âwitat, teimāretanama†
Sunset, hīwohonmi	To vomit, -haima-
To swallow, -sek-	To wake, -suhni-
Swallow, tumtitēlla	Warrior, hētewat
Swamp, hixut, cita	To wash, -pok-
Sweat-house, matta	To watch, -xota
Sweet, hiquīni	Water, ā'ka, āqa, aka*
To swim, -xū-	Water-fall, āqamateitsxol
Table, hāma'anaksia	Water-ousel, pāsindjaxola
Tail, aqūye	We, nāteidut, nōutowa, teigule
To talk, -kō-, -gō-	Weak, lāpukni
Tattoo, hekotēu	Wedge, tranper
To tear, -tra-, -xata-	Wet, cidji'in
Tears, hu-so'xa	What, pātei, qātei
Teeth, hu-tsu†	When, qāsukmatei
Ten, sānpun	Where, qōmalu, (qosi)
That, pāmut, pāut, pāt	To whip, -nuwec-
Thick, pepe'in	To whistle, -xū-
Thief, ixagutea	White, mēne'i, mene*
Thigh, hi-teipe	White-man, teimtūkta, (djemduakta)
Thin, tqē'erin	Whiskey, (apu-n-aqa)
This, qēwot, qāt	Who, qomas, komas,* awilla
Thou, mamut	Why, kosidaji
Three, xodai, hotai	Wide, xerē'in
To throw, -su-, -sux-	Widow, lasa
Thumb, hi-teitceta*	Widow (remarried), yapada§
Thunder, tremūmūta, trēmamutēu, [djememoxtcēi], teimumuta*	Widower, mamutxū (?)
To tie, -wuqam-	Wife (my), puntsar-jē, (punsal-i), puntear-hi*
Tinder, hauna	Wild-cat, tagnir, tragnil, hiēumaxutēulla
Tobacco, ūwut†	Willow, pāte'xu
Today, kimāse, asse†	
Tomorrow, himēda, himēta†	
Tongs, isekdādiu	

Wind, ikosē-ta, ikosiwa*	Wood-tick, tsina
Window, hisūsamdaksia	To work, -pu-
Wing, utū,† hu-tu	Worm, hēmuta
To wink, -raprap-, -laplap-	
Winter, asōdi, asuti*	
Wintun, pātexuai	
To wish, -texūū, -teai- (?)	To yawn, -xaca-
Wiyot(?), aqatrēduwaktada	Ye, qākule
Wiyot at Arcata, qataidu-waktada	Yellowhammer, tsēyamen, triyamen,
Wolf, eiteiwi, siteiwi*	(tciaman)
Woman, puntsar	Yellowjacket, xōwu
Wood, pusūa†	Yes, himō,† [(himō, hiye)]
Woodpecker, konanateēi, teuredhu,	Yesterday, mō'a, moo*
(dedima), [dirima], (teuleti)	Young, āmanitri, amaniti-ta

CHIMARIKO-ENGLISH.

The alphabetical order is that of the letters in English. On account of of some uncertainty as regards surd and sonant stops, b, d, and g have been treated as if they read p, t, and k. The same holds true of dj and tc. For similar reasons q has been put in the same place in the alphabet as k, and c as s. The sound of â apparently being nearer open o than a, these two characters have also been treated as one in alphabetizing. Ts and tc may be variants of one sound; tr, in many cases at least, is not t plus r, but a sound similar to tc, with which it often alternates. These three sounds have therefore been united. Glottal catches have been disregarded in alphabetizing. The order of the characters used is thus as follows:

a	p, b
e	r
h	s, c
i	t, d
k, q, g	tc, tr, ts, dj
l	u
m	w
n	x
o, â	y

Words denoting parts of the body are given with the prefix of the third person. Terms of relationship usually show the suffix of the first person. Wherever the derivation or structure seemed reasonably certain it has been indicated by hyphenation.

-a-, to go. See also -wam-, -waum-, -wawum-, -owa-	āqa, ā'ka, aka,* water
ā'a, aa,* deer	aq-a-qot, river
ā'ē-no, aa-nok,* elk	aqarēda, aka-teeta,' ocean
ā'asawi, wild potato. See also	āqa-mateitsxol, water-fall,
sāwu, qāwal, sanna	(“water-dust”)
ahān-matei, ahen-matei,* summer	aq-a-treduwaktada, Wiyot
[(ahateu)], dentalia. See also	sitjiu-aqai, Hoboken
hateidri, t'ōdōdōhi	aq-a-xatsa, water-cold, spring
	[agaxteea-dji], a place name

- akamina ā'pu, fire-place
 aqēd-ēu, wild oats
 aqi,† salt
 āqi-teč, [aiki-dje], Salt Ranch
 aqūye, tail
 akwēcur, [akuiteut], gray squirrel
 alla,† ūlla, [asi-n-ala], sun
 -ama-, -ma-, to eat
 hām-eu, food
 -ame-mtu-, to be hungry
 h-āma'a-na-ksia, table
 ama, [ama], country, earth, ground
 mountain
 ama-yāqa, sand
 ama-idāteiku, nowhere. Cf.
 pateikun, no.
 ami-texamut, earthquake
 [ama-teele-dji], place name
 amālūlla, old maid
 amani-nhu, new
 āmani-tri, amani-ti-ta,* young
 [amimamuco], place name
 (amitsihe-dji), [amitsepi], village
 at foot of Hupa Valley
 āno'a, pitch
 anōqai, amoka,* egg
 antxala-i, cousin
 antxa-sa-i, older sister
 -ap-, to dismount, get off a horse
 apenmaspoi, eddy
 ā'pu, apu,* fire
 apū'ēna, fire-drill. Also hātsiktea
 apū'-na-txui, fire-drill base
 āpo-teitpid-aktea, smoke-hole
 (apu-n-aqa), fire-water, whiskey
 āptum, fog
 apxante-olla, fox. Also teiteamūlla,
 haura
 -ar-, to climb
 assē,† [asi], day, today
 asōdi, asuti,* winter
 asōdi-wunki, autumn
 (acotno-umul), winter-salmon,
 steelhead
 -at-, to hit
 at-ar, fish-spear. Also hohankutēu
 āt'a, atsa,* tree
 atanisuk, sifting basket
 atrēi, flower. Cf. next
 ātei, root. Cf. last
- ateib-uksa, arrow-flaker
 āteugi-djē, Bennett's, Forks of
 Salmon
 atexū, fish-net
 atexundč, rope
 atexumni, dry
 āwa,† house
 awi-tat, village
 -awē-, angry
 awilla, who. See qōmas
 awu,† aumiya, mountain. See ama
 awu-t,* give
 axac-na, chaparral. Also
 puktea'ēna
 axād-ēu, cats-cradle. Cf. ahateu,
 dentalia, which were strung
 (axanteibot), frog. See qātus
 ē, today. See also kimase
 čxatatkun, sunrise
 elo-ta,* (elo-xni), hot
 eso-ta,* eco-, cold
 ēta, (hitat), many
 ēt-xol-na, [hetxolna], (hetexol-na),
 madrone
 exatatkun, sunrise.
 ēxoi-teči, [haiokwoitce], otter
 ha'amputni, ladder
 hā'-eu, basket (acorn-mortar)
 hahawin-ta,* old
 -hai-hu-, to spit
 -hai-ma-, to vomit
 haim-uksa, ham-ukteu,* axe
 -hak-, to bring. See also -hek-
 -hak- (†), to give
 (haq-eu), [haik-eu], sugar pine
 cone
 haq-ēw-ina, sugar pine
 -ham-, to carry. See also -mai-,
 -qi-, -xū-
 hamaida-dji, [amaita-dji],
 Hawkin's Bar
 hamamē-gutca, fish-line, hook
 hamut, he
 haōmi-ūksa, (haamiaktea), basket-
 hat
 habukēd-ēu, slave
 -hada-, rich. See also hitam
 hādoha-n, straight
 hateen, atei,* ice
 hate'hō, digger-pine (cone or nut)
 hateo'ēna, digger pine

- hateiinar-utsa, bed
 hateidri, dentalia. See also
 t'ödödöhi, ahateu
 häteugi-djē, South Fork of Trinity
 River
 hau-na, tinder
 haura,* fox. See apxantecolla,
 teitcamülla
 hawēdam, [awetama], (awatama-
 xni), cloud
 hawu-nna, (āwu-na), grass
 haxa-ktea, deer-trap
 -hayaqom-, to meet
 heetsama, salmon-trout
 -hek-, to bring. See also -hak-
 hekot-ēu, tatoo
 hēmox-ola, emoh-olla,* jackrabbit
 hēmuime-ktsa, split-stick rattle
 hemut, nest
 hēmuta, worm
 hemūdadjā-n, bitter
 -hen-, to lick. See also -pen-
 hepūitei'-ina, (hepetei-na), live oak
 hecigo, hazel
 -hedo- (?), to dip up
 hēteespula, sucker
 hētewat, warrior
 hēuma-kutca, grass-game
 -hi-, to burn. See also -maa-
 hiāsmāi-gutca, paddle
 hiēkteand-eu(?), woman's skirt.
 See also öxwai
 [hiikda-dji], a place name
 hikī-ina, moss
 hiqūi-ni, sweet
 himā'idan, tump-line. See also
 kāsusū
 himamto, green; (īmameu), blue;
 himamsu-t,* green, blue, yellow
 hime, [himi], night
 himen ālla, hime-n-alla,*
 hīmi-n-ala, moon
 himē-da, himē-ta,* tomorrow
 hime-tasur, hime-tacus,* morning
 himok,* evening
 himok-ni, night
 himoq-anan, noon
 himi-santo, (himi-samtu),
 "devil," sorcerer
 himēaqu-tce, Big Creek
 himi-gutca, sling
 himimi-tcēi, grouse
 himinidu-ktsa, red lizard
 himō,† [(himō)], yes
 [(hiye)], yes
 himolla-i, brother's child, father's
 sister's child, grandson
 hipūi, hipue,* snow
 hīpui īpa, snowshoes. See also
 panna
 hipuna-ktea, button
 hissa, trail
 [hisaa-da-mu], a place name
 hisaē-mu, Weaverville
 hi-ca'amatat, belt
 hisi-kni, hisi-ta,* (hisi-ki), good
 hisi-dēni, right hand
 [hisitsai-dje], a place name
 hisūsamda-ksia, window
 hītak, itak-ta,* rain
 hitam, rich. See also -hada-
 hītūtai-dji, Willow Creek
 hitxaiyi, roe
 hiteinemnem, dragon-fly
 hitecolam, full
 hutcolanan, empty
 hiteu-n, hiteū-ēni, long, high
 xū-iteu-lan, short
 hiteumūdād-ehu, cup and ball game
 hitexāeni (?), valley
 hitexū, [hitehu], Hupa (person)
 hitewāmai, Hupa (place)
 hūxi-gutca, saw
 hixut, swamp. See also cita
 -hoa-, hā, to stand
 hōa-kta-xoli-k, lame
 ho'-ēu, board
 hohankut-ēu, fish spear. See also
 atar
 hoqatā'ēni, square
 hākilasaqam, mistletoe
 hōmat, ripe
 xomanat, unripe
 hāp-ēu, acorn-soup
 [(hobe-ta-dji)], Hostler village,
 Hupa, where an annual acorn
 ceremony is held
 hāra, owl. See also teukukteēi
 hāsūnwed-ēu, spear
 hāsusa-kta, [(hose-ktea)], quiver
 hotai, xodai, three
 hotai-tci-pum, xodaiteibum, eight

hatsir, to make fire
 hâtsi-ktea, fire-drill. See also
 apū'ena
 hâtsi-na-ktea, cedar
 hâdi-na-kteo-hâda, Cedar Flat
 hoxu-dji, a place name
 hunoini,* Trinity river; [hunoini-
 wam], South Fork of the Trin-
 ity
 hūnomiteku, Salmon-river people
 -hus-, -xuc-, -kos-, -xu, to blow
 husū, hornet
 hutatat, cane
 huteulan (?), low. See hiteolam,
 full, huteolanan, empty
 [hutsutsaie-dje], a place name
 huwita-dji, a place name
 (ihitei), shelled acorns
 imimu-t,* to love; -mi'inan, to like
 [imikot], my friend
 -imu-, to hold
 inōōkta,§ heel
 ipūit-ella, bluebird
 isekdād-iu, tongs
 -itri-, to grow
 itri, itei,* man
 itri-lla, itei-la,† boy
 itri-ne-ūlla, old man
 itri-dūsku, old maid
 itri-xai-d-ēu, itei-haitie,* chief
 itei-la-i, itei-lla-i,* father
 [(iteikut)], a place name
 itekasēl-xun, hitekesel-sel-ta,*
 lightning
 [(iteui)], a place name
 iteumda, son-in-law
 [itsutsatmi-dji], a place name
 itexaposta, Dyer's Ranch
 -k-, to roll
 qā'a, kaa, stone
 kā'a, mortar
 qā-ku, arrow-point
 e-qā, vagina
 [qaetxata], a place name
 [kaimandot], a place name
 qaiyausmū-dji, Forks of New River
 kakesmilla,§ civet-cat
 qā'kule, ye
 kalūwē,§ spoon basket

qāpam, marten. See also xunēri
 qapu-na, deer-brush
 -kat-, to break. See also -tcex,
 -xōtōs-
 qadai-da, south
 qatai-duwaktada, Wiyot at Arcata
 qatrāta, shade
 qāwal, wild potato. See also sāwu,
 ā'asawi, sanna
 qawu, kawu-teane,* rattlesnake
 -kē-, to hear
 hu-kē-nan, deaf
 qē, smoke
 -qē-, to die
 qē-hewa, "pain," magic cause
 of disease
 qēpxami-teēi, fisher
 qērek-tee, humming-bird. See also
 trēlekteēi
 qēwot, this. See qāt
 kē-nteuk, here, this side of stream
 hi-ki,† neck
 -qi-, to carry. See also -mai-,
 -ham-, -xū-
 -kim-, to hang, to float (?)
 kimāse, today. See also ē
 kipi'-ina, [kimpina], fir
 -kir-, to scratch. See also -xolgo-
 qis-ōi, exadu-qis-mam, striped
 kisum, crane. See also kāsar
 kisu-matei, kieu-matei,* spring
 -klu-, to slip; also to fall, for which
 see also -man, -mo-
 -kma-, to comb
 -ko-, to kill
 -kō-, -gō-, -kokō-, to talk, to call
 [kokomātxami], a place name
 -kos-, -xuc-, -hus-, -xu, to blow
 i-kos-ēta, i-kos-iwa,* wind
 -qo-, to pour
 -qox-, to spill
 qoido, dew
 qō-mas,† who. See also awilla
 qā-tei, what. See also pā-tei
 qō-malu, (qo-si), where
 qā-iteu, how long, how far
 ko-sidaji, why
 qā-sukmatei, when
 qā-tala, how many
 qā-tramdun, how often

- qō'a, beetle
 kō'okoda, spider-web
 qāqū, xoku, two
 qōigu, qūigu, four
 qāqic-pom, xākus-pom, seven
 -komat- (?), to kneel
 qōmma, grass-seed
 qo'ōmēniwiuda, New River City
 konona-teēi, woodpecker. See
 also teuredhu
 -koru-, to bend
 kās-ar, kisu, crane
 kāsusū, tump-line. See also
 himā'idan
 qāt, qēwot, this
 kâteu, clover; kotcu,* "grass"
 qātus, frog
 kōwa, coals
 qoiyō-in, sour
 kumite-in,* all
 e-que, urine
 -kut-, to keep
 -kut-, to cut. See also -lolo-
 kwanpūteikta, spider
 -kxol-, to dent. See also -tran-
 -laplap, -raprap-, to wink
 lasa, widow
 lāpuk-ni, weak
 lē-, to hiccup
 lētretrē, spotted
 -lolo-, to cut. See also -kut-
 lālo, lalo,* goose
 -lot-, to mash
 lo'or-en, soft
 lād-ido, mud
 lū-, lui-t,* to drink
 -lul-, -lurim-, -lus-, to drop
 luredja, quickly. See also welmu
 -lucluc-, to shake
 lūyu-in, smooth
 hi-ma,† hear, hair. Cf. himāidan
 ma-mut, thou
 -maa-, to burn. See also -hi-
 -maq-, to roast
 -mai-, to carry. See also -ham-,
 -qi-, -xū-
 hi-māidan, tump-line
 maitra, flat, river-bench
 maiteiteam,* valley
 maidja-hūteula, Yocumville
 maidpa-sōre, Thomas', a place
 maidja-teū-djē, Cecilville
 maido-lēda, Jordan's
 maito-tōu-dji, Summerville
 maitro-ktada, Hyampom people
 (maidjandela), [maidjandera],
 teitindosa, coyote
 -maka-, to dream
 mago-la-i, (my uncle, maternal or
 paternal
 teu-maku, father-in-law
 teu-mako-sa, mother-in-law
 maxā-i, sister-in-law
 mālai'-i, (my) aunt, (maternal)
 -mam-, to see
 -mat-, to find
 -mamat-, alive
 mamsūidji, a place
 mamusi, king-snake
 mamutxū (?), widower
 -man-, to fall. See also -mo-, -klu-
 masola-i, maisola-i, daughter
 masomas, red salmon
 mata'-i, clean
 matta, sweat-house
 matrepa, matcitsxol, dust
 matripxa, ashes
 matrida, step-father
 mateiya, acorn-soaking place
 mēku-i, brother-in-law
 mēne'-i, mene,* white
 men-drahē, disk beads
 hi-mi,† feather. See also hu-tu
 hi-mina, back
 hi-mina-tee, behind, outside
 micaku-i, nephew
 -mitci-, to kick, with foot
 -mitexu-, to stink
 -mo-, to fall. See also -man-, -klu-
 mō'a, moo,* yesterday
 hi-mosni, hi-musni,* [hi-muclei],
 forehead
 -mu-, to fix
 -mum-, to run
 [(muni)], black-oak acorn
 mūne'-ēna, (mune-na), black oak
 munu, mono,* star
 muno-iēta, morning-star
 munū-tumni, falling star

- mūsaswa, musotri, mosotce,* fly
 mūtala-i, maternal aunt
 mūtumma, motuma,* canoe
 mutuma-na, redwood
 [(mutuma-dji)], Captain John's
 village at Hupa, which is
 reached only by boat
 -na-, to touch
 nagotpi, soot
 ho-napu, navel
 nāteidut, we. See also noutowa,
 teigule
 [(neradji)], village at head of
 Hupa valley
 hi-ni, brain
 -nini-, to shiver
 -ninxu-, to sneeze
 nīxētai,§ snail
 nolle, round
 hi-wi-nollom, rabbit (cotton-tail)
 no-matei,* autumn
 -nook-, to recover
 nodaduh-ni, rough
 nōut, I
 nōutowa, we. See also nateidut,
 teigule
 -nuwee, to whip
 o-ēlla-i, o-alla-i,* my son
 ōēl-ūlla, bachelor. See also
 puntsaričeku
 onīpa,† pipe. Cf. -pa-, to smoke
 (opuma-ktea), storage basket
 -owa, to go
 -owa-tok, to come
 ōxwai, woman's skirt. See also
 hiētcandeu
 -pa-, to smoke. Cf. onīpa, pipe
 -pa-, to say
 pa, ipa,† moccasin
 pa-nna, snowshoes. See also
 hīpuī ipa
 paktō'-ēna, alder
 paktōna-dji, baktuna-dji,
 Patterson's
 pala, strong
 pāmūt, pāt, pāt, that
 pāci, leached acorn-meal
 pāsindjax-ola, water-ousel
 -pat-, to poke
 -pat-, to sit. See also -teit-, -wo-
 pātei, what. See also qātei
 pātee-amkū, something
 pātei-gun, (pātei-kun), no
 patei-mam (?), everything
 pateut,* no
 pātexal, cocoon rattle
 pāte'xu, willow
 patexūai, Wintun
 patusu, rat
 pāt, pāmūt, pāt, that
 -hi-pel, [hi-bele], penis
 pēlo'a, black ant
 -pen-, -hen-, to lick
 hi-pen,† tongue
 pepe'-in, thick
 pētexol, hawk. See also yēkyēk
 pī'a, fat (noun)
 -pim-, to play
 pip-ila, chipmunk. See also wisilla
 -bis-, to split
 pis-or, pis-ol, quail
 pititexun, dried meat
 (bitcoqolmu), hook-bill salmon
 p'qēlē'-in, crooked
 hu-po,† foot
 hu-po-ekun, footless
 -po-, to dig. See also -tsik-
 -po-, to sleep
 -pok-, to wash
 poq-ela, cooking basket
 pola, alone
 bolaxot, (bulaxut), finger-nail
 pāt, pamūt, pāt, that
 pādju, [poteu], grizzly bear
 -potpot-, to boil. See also -dum-
 powa, open-work tray basket
 -poxolxol-, to paint
 -pu-, to work
 -pū-, to shoot
 -puimuk-, to pinch
 punuslala, by and by
 -pukim-, -pupul, to nod
 puktea'-ēna, chaparral. See also
 axacna
 pun, p'un, one
 p'un-teibum, p'untepom, six
 pun-teigu, nine
 pun-drāsut, eleven. See also
 saānpun punlasut
 p'unna, tray basket

- punts-ar, woman
 puntsar-iě, puntear-hi,* (punsal-i),
 my wife
 puntsari-čeku, bachelor. See
 also öčlülä
 punts-üla, punte-alla,* girl
 -pupul-, -pukim-, to nod
 punuslala, by and by
 pusū,† wood
 pusudr, mouse
 -putata, to clap hands
 (hu-putcu-n-xame), [ha-budju-n-
 xami], o-putcu-n-hama,* heard
 hi-pxa, intestines
 hi-pxadji, hi-patei,* skin, bark
 i-pxadji'-ina, trū-pxadji'-ina,
 maple ("bark-tree")
 -pxel-, to twist
 pxicira, [pīcui], skunk
 sa'a, arrow
 hi-sam, hi-cam,* ear
 -cem-, to listen
 -samxu-, to dance
 hi-samqu-ni, drum
 sanna, wild potato. See also sāwu,
 qāwal, ā'asawi
 sangen, (cānkeen), burden basket
 sānpun, ten
 saānpun punlasut, eleven. See
 also pundrāsut
 hu-sa'antēi, (hu-santēi), u-santēe,*
 heart
 sāpxel, spoon. See also wēc-naqalne
 sāpxi, onion
 sāwu, wild potato. See also qāwal,
 ā'asawi, sanna
 -sax-, to cough
 -saxutxut, to breathe
 -sek-, to swallow
 -cektā-, to make fire. See also hatsir
 hu-ei, liver; (husi), u-si,* breast
 -sik-, to drive
 siga, pretty
 cira, ci'ila, si'lēye, sirha,† [cīda],
 woman's breast, milk
 cilēi-teūmuni, arm-pit
 [ciloki], a place
 -sim-, accompany
 teu-simda, daughter-in-law
 cibui, awl
 cita, swamp. See also hixut
 citimāā-dji, Big Bar
 eido'-i, sito-i,* (my) mother
 citra, srīto, robin
 citrqi, sōtri, sitsō,* blood
 sōdrē-, to bleed
 cite-ella, site-ela,† dog
 cīte-iwi, site-iwi, wolf
 cidji'-in, wet
 sitjiwāqai, Hoboken
 cid-ülla, a spring
 sāmu, log
 -sāp-, sāpho, to slide
 hu-sot, hu-cot,* eye
 hu-sot-nimi, eyebrow
 hu-sunsa, eyelashes
 hu-so'-xa, tears
 sōtē'i, blue (?—cf. blood)
 -su-, -sux-, to throw
 -suhni-, to wake
 eul-, eur, long ago
 sulhim, abalone
 -sum-, to follow
 hi-suma,* face
 hi-cum-axuteulla, wild-cat
 eun-hülla, old woman
 cupui, sharp
 -suta-, to scowl
 [suta-dji], a place
 -sux-, -su-, to throw
 -dah-, born
 -daigu-, to pay
 ta'ira, ground squirrel
 -tak-, to sing
 tagnir, tregnir, wild-cat
 takteel, lizard
 t'amina, flea
 tamini, by and by
 t'amitexul, red ant
 hu-tananundjatun, cheek
 tanatei, comb
 hi-taxai, tahalwi,* leaf
 (tabum), again
 (dedima), [dirima], woodpecker.
 See also konananteēi, teuredhu,
 teuleti
 tètèu-na, fern
 tirha,* (di'la), bird
 tira-cela, tēila-teele, blackbird
 dilamda, [diramda], long ago
 tqē'er-in, thin

- tono'-i, dull
 -tot-, to bury
 t'ödödöhi, hateidri, dentalia. See also ahateu
 -tu-, to fly
 hu-tu, u-tū,† feather, wing.
 See also hi-mi
 -tudu-, to jump
 -dum-, to boil. See also -potpot-
 tumtit-ella, swallow
 t'ummi, armor. See also teitxa
 -txa-, to stop
 hi-txan, hi-tal,* leg
 hi-txanimaxa, [hi-txanemaxa],
 knee
 hi-txan-lède, hi-kxan-lède, ankle
 -txat-, to hide
 -txax-, abandon. Cf. -taxt-
 txol, txol, scorpion (?), crayfish.
 See also teisitein
 txodëhunmi, shallow
 hu-txun, bone

 hi-tra, hi-ta, (hi-tea),* hand, finger,
 arm, shoulder
 tranëhë, tsānehe, five
 hi-teanka,* fingers
 hi-tanpu, [hi-teanpu], hi-teanpo,*
 arm
 hi-tei-teeta, thumb
 -tra-, to tear. See also -xara-
 -trahu-, to know
 -teai (?), -texū-, to wash
 trecagnil, tagnir, wild-cat
 tsamila, butterfly
 tsāmma, dried crumbled salmon
 -tran-, to dent. See also -kxol-
 teanapa, conical shell
 tranmi-da, downwards
 tranqōma, Hyampom
 tranper, wedge
 tsabok-or, mole
 tsāt, fish-trap, weir
 tsādada, king-fisher
 tsat-ur, grasshopper
 -teatei-, to chew
 tsāwa, lamprey eel
 trāwel, [teawal],* trout
 (djāwidjau), eagle. See also wemer
 teaxi, hard
 (djeida), dog-salmon

 -teex-, to break. See also -kat-,
 -xötös-
 teelë-i, teeli-t,* black
 teelë'-in, dirty
 trēlekteci, qērektee, humming-bird
 tselēye, mosquito
 tseli-na, gooseberry
 [(teem-da)], across stream
 teēmu,† sky
 -teemux-, to clear (weather)
 tremū-muta, trēma-mute-ēu,
 teimu-muta,* thunder
 teem-xate-ila, bat
 teēn-eu, acorn-bread
 teerāsmu, [teidasmu], mountain-lion
 teesundan, pestle
 teēteci, buzzard
 trēwut, teeu-t,* (djewu), large
 trexanmatexū, rainbow
 -tei-, to squeeze
 teim-ar, teim-al, (teim-al),
 [djim-ar], person, Indian
 (teim-al-iko), Chimariko
 teimār-etanama,† village
 teim-tūkta, (djem-duakta), white-
 man
 teimia-na, sarvice-berry
 tsina, wood-tick
 -tsik-, to dig. See also -po-
 teigule, we. See also nateidut,
 noutowa
 teintxap-mu, [djundxap-mu], Big
 Flat
 hi-teipe, thigh
 teirhuntol, buckskin
 teisamra, teisamrha,* (djicamla),
 [djisamara], black bear
 teisili, teeselli,* teididi, knife
 teisitein, scorpion. See also txol,
 txol
 teisum-ula, orphan
 -teit-, to sit. See also -wo-, -pat-
 teitaba, teitaha,* lake
 teitra, Trinity River
 teitindōsa, coyote. Cf. teiteam-ulla,
 fox
 teitxa, armor. See also t'ummi
 -teiwa-, to sell
 teiteam-ulla, fox. See also apxante-
 olla, haura. Cf. teitindōsa,
 coyote

- teitea-na, manzanita
 teitean-ma, [djiteaan-ma], Taylor Flat
 teitei-āqai, manzanita-cider
 teitexōi, elder tree
 triyamen, tsēyamen, (teiaman), yellowhammer
 (tso), up. See also wiemu
 tsokokotce, bluejay
 teolidasum, [djalintasun, djalitasom], New River
 teōwu, (teū), shaman
 hu-tsu, u-tsu,* teeth
 -teuk- (?), to drown
 teukuteēi, owl. See also hāra
 -teum-, to marry
 teumidan, happy (?), heavy (?)
 teumu (?), under
 tsuna, chin. See also hu-wetu
 tsuna-na, digging-stick
 hu-trun-ēu, (hu-teen-eu), u-teuniwa, belly
 trūpxadji 'ina, ipxadji 'ina, maple
 teuredhu, (teuleti), woodpecker. See also konananteēi, dedima, dirima
 -teut-, to strike
 tsūdameda-dji, [djidamada-dji], Burnt Ranch
 teuxunmin (?), deep
 -texa-, -texet-, to pull. See also -texet-
 texal-ēn, light
 -texet-, texa, to pull
 trxol, txol, cray-fish, scorpion (?)
 -texua-, to fight
 (texupun), acorn. See also yutri
 -texūū, -teai-, to wish
 ulēta, small
 ulūida-i, (my) paternal aunt
 ūmul, omul,* salmon
 (umul-itcawa), sturgeon ("large-salmon")
 (umul-teani), summer salmon
 ūwu,† tobacco
 ha-wa,† mouth
 wai-da, east; (wai-da), up-stream
 -wak-, -watok-, to come
 wa'la, wa'da, crow
 -wam-, -waum-, -wawum-, -a-, to go
 -watok-, -wak-, to come
 wateel, pepper-wood
 hi-wax, excrement
 welmu, quickly. See also luredja
 wemer, eagle. See also djāwidjau
 -wemtso-, to gamble
 wenteu, cradle
 wēboqām, floor
 ho-wee, antlers, horn
 wēc-naqalne, spoon
 wēssa, door
 hu-wētū, chin. See also tsuna
 -whék-, to push
 hi-wi, anus
 (wiemu), up. See also tso
 wili'ī, wili-t,* red
 wisē-da, down-stream
 wisilla, chipmunk (?), beaver (?).
 See also pipila
 -wo-, to cry
 -wo-, -wom-, to sit, to stay. See also -teit-, -pat-
 hi-woanad-atsa, chair
 hi-wo-hunmi, sunset
 wowoin, to bark
 -wuqam-, to tie
 -xai-, to make
 xamoa-na, blackberry
 xar-ūlla, hal-alla,* (xal-ala), baby
 -xaca-, to yawn
 -xata-, to tear. See also -tra-
 -xadj-, to steal
 i-xa-gutea, thief
 (xatsa), cold
 (xaumta-dji), a village in Hupa, below the Ferry
 [xawaamai], Mad River
 xaxa-teēi, duck; hahatce,* mallard duck
 xaxec-na, poison oak
 xawin, caterpillar
 xawi-ni, old
 xē'ir-en, xerē'-in, narrow (?), wide (?)
 -xēdo-, to scrape
 -xiaxe-, to rub
 xoku, qāqū, two
 xāku-spom, qāqi-epom, seven
 -xolgo-, to scratch. See also -kirkir-
 -xomē-, to forget
 xāpun-ēu, bow

[xoraxdu], a place	xunēri, hunēri, marten(?), mink(?).
xōsu, hosu,* yellow pine	See also qāpam
xodai, hotai, three	xunoi-da, west (?), north (?)
xodai-teibum, hotai-teipum, eight	-xutaxun-, to remember
xodalan, poor. Cf. -hada-, rich	xutexu, hemlock
-xötös-, to break. See also -kat-,	(xuwetei), deer (buck). Cf. -wee,
-teex-	antlers
-xātudu, to snore	yaqā-na, white oak
xowēn-ila, slowly	[yaqana-dji], a place
xōwu, yellow-jacket	yanunūwa, yanunwa,* pigeon
-xu-, -xuc-, -hus-, -kos-, to blow	-yatei-, iatei-mut,* to laugh
-xū-, to whistle	yēkyēk, hawk. See also pētexol
-xū-, to swim	yētō'a, [yeteiwa], raccoon
-xū-, to carry. See also -mai-, -ham-,	(yetcawe), deer (doe)
-qi-	yōma, unleached acorn-meal
ho-xu, nose	yonot, buckeye
-xu-, fat (adj.)	yūmate, gopher
-xuc-, -xu-, -hus-, -kos-, to blow	yūtri, acorn
xūiteu-lan, short	yūtxūi-na, tan-bark oak
xuli, holi-ta,* bad	yūura, dove
xuli-teni, left-hand	

PLACE NAMES.

Taylor Flat	teitecanma [djitecanma]
Cedar Flat	hādinaktecohāda
Burnt Ranch	tsūdamadadji [djidāmadadji]
Hawkin's Bar	hamaidadji [amaitadji]
Dyer's ranch	itexaposta
Patterson's	paktōnadji [baktunadji]
Thomas'	maidjasōre
Forks of New River	qaiyausmūdji
New River City	qo'ōmēniwinda
Willow Creek	hitūtaidji
Big Bar	eitimāādji
Weaverville	hisaēmu
New River	teolidasum [djalintasun, djalitasom]
Big Creek	himēaqutce
Trinity River	teitra
Hoboken	sitjiwāqai
South Fork Trinity River	hātengidjē
Summerville	maitotōudji
Jordan's	maidolēda
Cecilville	maidjateūdjē
Yocumville	maidjahūteula
Bennett's	ātēugidjē
Hyampom	tranqōma
Big Flat	teintxapmu [djundxapmu]
Salt Ranch	āqiteē [aikidje]
Mad River	[xawaamai]

Hupa, village at foot of valley	(amitsihedji) [amitsepi]
Hupa, village below Ferry	[hobetadji]
Hupa, Hostler village	(xaumtadji)
Hupa, Captain John's village	[(mutuma-dji)]
Hupa, village at head of valley	[(neradji)]

Unidentified place names mentioned by Doctor Tom to Dr. A. L. Kroeber: amimamuco, hikdadji, kaimandot, iteikut, iteui, hoxudji, sutadji, hisitsaidje, huwitadji, qatxata, yaqanadji, amatecedji, itsutsatmidji, agax-teadji, baktunadji, hisaadamu, xoraxdu, hutsutsaiedje, ciloki, kokomaxami.

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